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VARIATIONS OF TWO CULTURE TRAITS IN THE PLAINS AREA

By

Harold Lindsay Amoss, Jr.

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Anthropology

The University of New Mexico

1947

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Laurence V. Scholes
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VARIATIONS OF TWO CULTURE TRAITS IN THE PLAINS AREA

There are two problems involved in the study of processes of culture change: one, what are the determinants of change, and do they apply universally; two, the utilization of these laws in determining culture history. No attempt will be made in this paper to reconstruct a history of the cultural items, not because there is no historical interest, but because the problem is pointed towards the analysis of some culture processes. The concern here is limited to the study of forms, not functions, though the latter may have some significant bearing on these problems. The ultimate aim of anthropology is to discover the cultural factors in human behavior. If many generalizations, covering every aspect of culture diffusion, could be shown to be valid, culture history reconstruction would be greatly simplified.[1]

An attempt will be made to assemble the available information on two Plains culture traits, one material and the other non-material, toward determination of the characteristics of culture change. These are some of the observations of earlier investigators which may or may not hold true with respect to this material:

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[1] See Barnett, H. G., Cultural Processes, for an exposition of the same idea, p. 22.

1) culture traits arise in an area and diffuse outwards from their sources;
2) this diffusion is asymmetrical and proceeds at varying rates in the several directions;
3) diffusion is not always continuous;
4) the center of elaboration may or may not represent the newest development of the trait;
5) the peripheral manifestations of the trait may be the oldest form or it may not be;
6) this center of elaboration is not necessarily the geographical center of the culture area;
7) improvements or changes in the trait may occur at the center due to longer association with the trait in that region;
8) or changes may occur at the marginal areas;
9) culture traits undergo change as they diffuse;
10) there are differentials in the speed, stability, or extent of change between material and non-material culture.

I.

In analysing distribution and diffusion of material culture, a trait must be chosen which exhibits significant differences of elaboration. The Plains Indian tipi demonstrates variations on a cultural theme, having differences

in; 1) the extent to which it was used; 2) size; 3) number of foundation poles; 4) number of smoke flaps; 5) whether pockets or holes were used in the smoke flaps to receive the bracing poles; 6) the character and extent of the decoration; 7) the presence or absence of the inner lining; 8) the presence or absence of a back-rest for the beds.

By Plains tipi, it is meant the movable, conical tent of skins tailored to fit around a pole foundation with a hole in the top to permit the escape of smoke.

Early papers by George Grinnell[2] and Walter McClintock[3] on the Blackfoot tipi, and two papers by W. S. Campbell on the Cheyenne[4] and Crow[5] tipis give excellent descriptions of these lodges. However, Wissler's section in his paper, THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS, concerning the tipi, especially the comparative notes, comes the closest to giving a picture of the Plains tipi. More recent data (e.g. the two Campbell papers mentioned above) have rounded out the picture somewhat,

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[2] G. Grinnell, The Lodges of the Blackfoot.

[3] W. McClintock, The Blackfoot Tipi.

[4] W. Campbell, The Cheyenne Tipi.

[5] W. Campbell, The Tipis of the Crow Indians.

but have changed none of his tenets. The author has leaned heavily on Wissler's material, using also his original sources, and on D. I. Bushnell's paper, VILLAGES OF THE ALGONQUIAN, SIOUAN AND CADDOAN TRIBES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, which is a valuable collection of information, especially his sources.

Use of the tipi was not confined to the Plains culture area, where it was found in Canada among the Sarci, Blackfoot, Plains Ojibwa, Plains Cree and Assiniboin; in the northern Plains of the United States the Gros Ventre, Crow, Cheyenne, Teton, Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Ponca, Yankton-Yanktonai, Santee, and other eastern Dakota; south of these tribes among the Arapaho, Pawnee, Omaha, Oto and Iowa; and in the south Plains it was found among the Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Kansa, Missouri, Comanche, and the Quecheres and Toyas of the sixteenth century.[6] In the region immediately west of the Plains area it was used in the Plateau culture area by the Southern Okanagan, Tenino, Kalispel, Sanpoil, Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, Pend d'Oreille, and Nez Perce. South of the Plateau but still immediately adjacent to the Plains were these Basin tribes among whom the tipi existed; Hekandika Shoshoni and other Northern Shoshoni including

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[6] See appendix for systematic arrangement of data from which all description was taken.

the Wind River Shoshoni, and the Southern (and probably Northern) Ute. Finally in the Southwest, again in close proximity to the Plains, were three Apache groups who used the tipi, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Chiricahua. It is possible that beyond the eastern margin of the Plains it was used by the various tribes of the Illinois prairies.

Because of the impression left on certain travelers, and the fact that the culture of the Crow has been described in detail, there is an excellent description of their tipi, which will be used as a point of departure for the discussion which follows. As a primary house form, it was large, with a base diameter averaging twenty-two feet and an overall height of about twenty-five feet. A Crow tipi cover was formed, on the average, of fourteen buffalo skins sewn into proper semicircular shape. It housed from twelve to fourteen individuals.

To support this cover, four poles were selected and tied together with a thong to form a foundation. Because of the fact that a marked peculiarity of the Crow tipi lay in the height of the poles beyond the top of the cover, the tie must have been made roughly halfway down the poles. Two parallel poles were placed at right angles to the other two foundation poles, the thong wrapped around the four at the proper intersection, and tied with a simple knot. One woman raised the crossed

foundation poles above her head while an assistant pulled on a guy rope. The butts were then separated to form a rough oblong. Then into the forks thus formed were leaned the other poles which supported the cover. These poles averaged thirty to forty feet long and were sixteen to twenty-two in number, depending on the size of the tipi.

When the Crow woman wanted a new tipi, neighbors helped, and were paid for their services with food. One or more supervisors directed the laying out and cutting of the cover. This pattern of designing and sewing the cover as a cooperative venture was normative in the Plains, with minor variations, such as the new owner herself directing the others, and guilds which controlled and perpetuated the art among the Cheyenne. The cover was wrapped around the poles and tied together for some two-thirds of the way up the edges, which met in front, by means of wooden skewers. These pins were of cherry-wood, pointed at one end and peeled of their bark, averaging about twenty-one inches long and three-eighths of an inch in diameter. One such skewer was used for every six or eight inches of slit to be closed. In lieu of direct evidence, it is assumed that the door was very much the same as that of most Plains tribes (single animal skin with the hair to the outside).

There was always an inner lining, often decorated with the owner's deeds, made of dressed skins and extending from the ground to a height of about six feet, which protected the occupants from moisture when it leaked through the cover and ran down from the smoke hole, and gave protection from drafts which were constantly present whenever the fire was lit. Another item, the back-rest, while actually not a part of the tipi proper, was nevertheless an ingredient of the tipi complex. Lowie described the Crow back-rest as being of slender willow sticks strung with sinew, fastened to tripods and covered with buffalo skins.

The Crow depended very little on decoration for aesthetic effect on their tipi. They made limited use of circular ornaments sewn to the outside of the covers, and bands of color around the top or bottom or around the door. Lowie says they were distinctly inferior in realistic ornamentation to the Blackfoot, and Campbell adds they were likewise inferior to the Sioux, Kiowa and Arapaho. Campbell summed it up when he wrote, "The beauty of the Crow tipi lies not in superficial ornamentation, but in its impressive size and admirable proportions, the great length of the soaring poles [above the apex], the graceful curve of the flap-poles above the smoke hole."[7]

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[7] W. Campbell, The Tipis of the Crow Indians, p. 103.

With the Crow tipi as a yardstick, a comparison can now be made of the tipi elements among other tribes which employed this house form.

All the Plains tribes mentioned used the tipi as their primary house type, with the exception of the eastern and southeastern Plains tribes (Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Santee, Omaha, Oto, Pawnee, Iowa, Kansa, Missouri). Possibly the Yankton-Yanktonai should be included among these. Nowhere outside the Plains was it the primary form with the possible exception, during the historic period, of some of the eastern Ute and Wind River Shoshoni, who were otherwise Basin in general cultural habits. Secondary uses (seasonal use or with other types) were found peripheral to primary use in the eastern section of the Plains.

From this array it may be seen that there was a large, irregularly-shaped area throughout which the tipi was used, as a primary or secondary dwelling, with the center of primary use found near the geographical, but not exactly at it. The problem arises; what limited the spread of these culture traits--the use of the tipi in any form, and its use to the exclusion of other house types?

Language can be discounted, but not ignored. Use of the tipi cuts across linguistic lines. Furthermore,

it is easy to forget that the sign language made communication on the Plains almost as easy as with speech. Clark, quoting White Cloud, head chief of the Chippewas, said, "Indians had no particular trouble in communicating ideas by means of signs."[8] Yet ease of communication and familiarity through speech probably did make for its diffusion in certain cases.

But the limiting force of the physical environment can not be underrated in the case of tipi use. The conical, skin tent of the Plains Indians was a highly specialized house type, combining lightness, shelter, mobility, facilities for an inside fire and employing readily available materials (poles and buffalo skins). The physical environment provided a choice of materials, but the arrangement of these raw materials into the highly specialized tipi was a matter of the development of an idea already existent. Again, plains topography (in contrast to mountain terrain) provided conditions for the transport of a shelter rather than its construction anew at each camp. Boas wrote, "Environmental conditions may stimulate existing cultural activities, but they have no creative force."[9]

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[8] W. Clark, The Indian Sign Language, p. 340.

[9] F. Boas, Race, Language and Culture, p. 266.

One of the characteristics of the tipi complex was the use of a set of poles for several years. Although no Plains tribe was very far from a source of poles, the physical environment probably produced the initial impulse to the continued use of the same poles. The sustaining impetus became cultural. The Slavey, who used a rudimentary form of tipi, living in a heavily forested region, left their poles at the campsite for the next person.[10] However, it is not enough to say that the reason for leaving the poles was entirely due to the abundant supply of poles. There was a cultural reason. Tribes having the most elaborated form of the tipi took pride in their poles; the tipi-like structure of these northern tribes was a very attenuated form; a poorly tailored, loose covering fitted over forked poles, and they exhibited no interest in the preparation of good poles.

The impact of two cultural traditions which satisfy like needs is one of the strongest culture-limiting factors. This was especially conspicuous on the eastern fringe of the tipi distribution where the tipi was used as the mobile house type, whereas the fixed earth lodge was the normal dwelling.

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[10] J. Mason, Indians of Great Slave Lake Area, p. 20.

Size showed variation from tribe to tribe. Judgment as to size is based on accessible information, as base diameter, height, number of skins, number of poles, and number of people housed. When any of these dimensions are lacking, estimates are made from figures available, using caution because some types of data give a truer picture of size.

The number of skins used in the making of a cover and the number of people residing in a tipi are fairly reliable criteria. The number of persons per lodge may have been a function of the social system (as it might depend on whether a man established a separate residence for each wife or established them in a joint household). However, there are no available data correlating size of family and size of tipi. Conversely, the number of poles used in supporting the cover is a poor indication, because there were other factors involved here than size: the number of poles was influenced by the alternatives of three or four pole foundation, and there is also the culturally determined pattern of taste (because more poles caused the cover to be stretched tighter with corresponding improvement of appearance and wearing qualities). Campbell has suggested that probably all tribes which constructed their tipis on a three pole

basis used more poles than those using four poles.[11] Some subjective judgment must be exercised even when figures are available, because very often the number of poles for a tribe is given only in terms of limits, and some estimate of the modal number has to be made. Very often there are discrepancies between sources. And finally, the figures on height sometimes mean overall height (tent itself and the poles which project over it) and sometimes merely height of the cover or to the apex.

Probably the largest tipi of the Plains was that of the Crow, followed in order of descending size by those of the Cheyenne, Oto, Omaha, Blackfoot and Sarci (it is quite clear that the Sarci borrowed the Blackfoot tipi in its entirety), Plains Cree, Pawnee, Teton, and Santee. Hector and Vaux (cited by Wissler) found the Blackfoot tipi larger than those of the Cree and these in turn larger than the Stoney Assiniboin.[12] Riggs made a comparison of the size of the Eastern Dakota tipi and that of the prairie tribes farther west, and in so doing, made a significant observation; "The Dakota tents on the Minnesota do not average more than about six inmates; but

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[11] W. Campbell, The Tipis of the Crow Indians, p. 88.

[12] C. Wissler, Material Culture of the Blackfoot, p. 110.

on the prairie, where, though the material for the manufacture of tents is abundant, tent-poles are scarce, they make their dwellings larger, and average, it is thought, about ten persons to a lodge."[13] There is no available information for the other Plains tribes, though there is for an eastern Basin tribe, the Southern Ute. Their tipis were so small and poorly made that they were called by the Plains tribes "Bad Lodges."

From the foregoing material on size, some generalizations are clear. There was a center for large tipi construction found in the Crow-Cheyenne area and, generally speaking, as the borders of tipi distribution were approached, the tipi was found to be smaller. However, there were exceptions to this steady progression, as in the case of the large Oto lodge which was somewhat bigger than those of its neighbors towards the Crow-Cheyenne center (Omaha, Pawnee). It is noticeable that there was a line of relatively big lodges from the Crow-Cheyenne area towards the drainage of the Missouri. But this is just the region which was covered by a spearhead of earth lodge use into the eastern flank of the tipi area. Perhaps the reason for this double development lay in the fact that there was a high cultural level

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[13] S. Riggs, Dakota Grammar, p. 160.

in houses, and that it did not make any difference whether this applied to their summer house (tipi) or winter (earth lodge), their mobile or stationary house.

While there were a few cases in which it has been reported that both three and four pole foundations were in vogue in one tribe, mainly there was a conventional choice of either one or the other traditional in each tribe. For the Chiricahua Apache, who used the tipi as a secondarily preferred dwelling, both types of foundation were reported, with the three pole the more common. The Wind River Shoshoni used both types with the four pole more common. There is some evidence that the Kiowa Apache formerly used the four pole and changed to the three pole relatively recently.

Except for these tribes, there was a clear preference for one or the other. Of the tribes for whom information is available, the following used the four pole foundation: Sarci, Blackfoot, Kutenai, Flathead, Cree, Hidatsa, Crow, Fort Hall Shoshoni, Bannock, Hekandika Shoshoni, Southern Ute, Kiowa Apache, Comanche, Omaha. Tribes using the three pole foundation were the Plains Cree, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Nez Perce, Cheyenne, Kalispel, Teton, Arikara, Santee, Ponca, Arapaho, Pawnee, Oto, Kiowa, Wichita, Jicarilla Apache, Mescalero Apache,

and Lipan Apache. There is no information at hand on the type of foundation used by the Plains Ojibwa, Tenino, Sanpoil, Yankton-Yanktonai, Iowa, Missouri, Kansa, Tejas and Querechos.

Wissler has called attention to the fact that the four pole foundation was distributed mainly on the western side of the tipi area, and that the three pole had a more restricted distribution to the east. He thought it a safe assumption that if more information were available on the tribes living at the eastern periphery, the distribution would take the form of a center of three pole distribution with the four pole extending around the margins of the area on both eastern and western sides.[14] And according to the age-area principle, this would mean a greater age for the four pole, the three pole form then being used as a later, specialized development. A cultural variation is either new or residual. In this case, there is other pertinent evidence. All of the tribes used two smoke flaps with the exception that formerly the Comanche and Kiowa used one. The Mescalero Apache used a temporary tipi with one "ear." Because of its peripheral occurrence and that the Comanche and Kiowa

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[14] C. Wissler, The Relation of Nature to Man, p. 4.

seemed to be in the process of conversion to two flaps in historic times, the one "ear" types seem to be the more archaic. The four pole foundation and one smoke flap are associated. The three pole foundation might have been an innovation starting somewhere among the tribes who occupied the central Plains to the east of the Crow-Blackfoot range. It is interesting to note that the Hidatsa used a four pole (i.e. post) foundation in their earth lodges as well as their tipis. But the Omaha did not always use four posts as the foundation to their earth lodges although they did use four poles in their tipis. It may be added that there is one other item which seems to have belonged to this one "ear," four pole complex, and that is the use of holes in the smoke flaps to receive the flap-adjusting poles. The Sarci, Blackfoot, and Crow used holes; all other tribes for which any information was found used pockets. The occurrence of this item in the northwest Plains only, however, does not permit inference with respect to its association by priority with the four pole form.

The course of this argument leaves us, then, with the situation that in the Basin, the brush lodge, undoubtedly an old form of dwelling, and the tipi of more recent introduction there, were based on the four pole

foundation. The three pole tipi form of unknown age was in the eastern Plains, and between these an area of four pole types. This form, in intermediate position, might have been an amalgamation of two cultural ideas.

The back-rest used with the beds in the tipi has been reported in general use by the Sarci, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Hidatsa (in their earth lodge), Teton, Arapaho, and Lipan Apache. Among Plains Cree, however, it was used by men of prestige only. Except for the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache, who have said that they did not use the back-rest, there is no available information concerning further distribution of this trait.

The inner lining has been reported from the Sarci, Blackfoot, Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Crow, Cheyenne, Teton, and Lipan Apache. The Chiricahua Apache did not use it. With both the back-rest and the inner lining, there is so little information that only a very poor picture of its distribution is available. Probably both, especially the latter, were fairly widespread.

When the element of decorating the tipi cover is considered, there arises the problem of how widespread was the custom of decorating the tipi within each group. There are a number of drawings and photographs illustrating tipi decoration, but there is no way of knowing

how much the artist or photographer was attracted to the atypical for subject matter. However, with the information as it is, the following tribes are known to have painted their covers: Sarci, Blackfoot, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, Coeur d'Alene, Crow, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Teton, Ponca, Omaha, Kansa, Pawnee, Arapaho, Southern Ute, Chiricahua Apache, and Kiowa Apache. It has been reported that the Mescalero and Lipan Apache did not paint their covers. Perhaps this was not true formerly, because Saldivar described Apache tents near the present New Mexico-Texas boundary as colored a very bright red and white. These people may not have been ancestral to Mescalero and Lipan Apache. And it was not mentioned in the account of the Southern Okanagan, which, because of the detailed nature of this record, can be taken as presumptive evidence that tipi painting was not present. There is no available information for the rest of the tribes.

The painting took the forms of bands of color, figures of animals or men, war records, anthropomorphic beings or geometric designs. Bands of color were used by Blackfoot, Crow, Teton, Omaha, Arapaho, and probably others. Figures were employed by the Blackfoot, Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Teton, Omaha, Pawnee, and

Arapaho. The Southern Ute did not use figures. The bulk of these figures took the form of animals, as examplified in the Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Arapaho, and Pawnee decorations. The Plains Cree painted supernatural characters, while the Teton employed cult symbols on their covers.

Not only is it difficult to discover how many tipis in the group were painted but also what value was put on decoration. The two ingredients, value and incidence of decoration, were interrelated. Sarci and Blackfoot tipis were painted as a result of owner's dreams, were equated with medicine bundles, and were valued equally with lesser true bundles. A clue can be gained of what fraction of the tipis were decorated from Wissler's statement: ". . .most men own some kind of a bundle however small. . . ."[15] The Plains Cree and Arapaho likewise painted their tipis as the result of dreams and the principal figure was the man's dream guardian. Sometimes the covers testified to the war prowess of the man. Teton and Plains Ojibwa recorded war exploits on covers; conversely, the Pawnee painted war deeds on robes, not tipis. Those Pawnee tipis which were decorated were covered with animal symbols almost

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[15] C. Wissler, Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot, p. 71.

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foot, p. 71.

exclusively, and were the home of medicinemen. In general, painting in accord with dream experience was a northern and northwestern trait in the Plains.

Other ways of decorating the outside of the tipi were employed: circular ornaments, pendents, buffalo tails, and streamers from the tips of the poles. Circular ornaments were found among the Assiniboin, Crow, Hidatsa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, while the Gros Ventre said they formerly used them. Buffalo tails were used by the Blackfoot and Arapaho, and the Plains Cree tied horse tails to the smoke flaps. While the data respecting presence or absence are not uniformly distributed over the tipi area, these two types of ornamentation appear to have a restricted distribution in the north and west.

Presumably, painting the inner lining was formerly more widespread than the meager information would indicate.

One other very interesting aspect of the tipi complex is the question of who constructed the tipi, and who owned it. In every case, the tipi was manufactured in its entirety by women with the possible exception that among the Blackfoot, if the husband were old, he might lend a hand in cutting the poles. Among the Cheyenne, ". . . tipi-making is an art controlled and perpetuated by certain societies or guilds of women. . . ."[16]

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[16] W. Campbell, The Cheyenne Tipi, p. 685

Likewise, among the Oglala, one of the western Sioux groups, there was an association of tipi-makers, which seems to have been a sort of guild (a characteristic Oglala trait of forming associations). The right to trim the cover was a special prerogative, which was saleable, among the Hidatsa. (This conforms to the Hidatsa pattern for validating the transfer of all bundles and privileges by sale, even though the recipient had rights by inheritance.)

Just as the tipi was fabricated by women, so ownership of the lodge was usually vested in women. However, any symbolic designs or war records painted on the cover were those of the man. Yet it was mandatory that the Plains Cree man obtain his wife's permission to have a picture of his spirit-helper on the covering. Among the Gros Ventre, "A young man on marrying received a tent . . . ."; however, "The tent was considered the woman's possession while she lived with her husband; but on his death, even this was no longer her property. If the tent was worth keeping at all, it generally went to the dead man's sister, if she was newly married."[17]

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[17] A. Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, pp. 180-181.

In summary, the tipi was a highly specialized house type probably stemming from a prototype with a four pole foundation and akin to the brush lodge of the Basin and Southwest, the Navaho hogan, and the conical tent-like structure which is distributed over a wide area from Lapland east across Siberia, over Bering Strait into the Mackenzie Basin of Canada. Fundamental modifications occurred: change from four to three pole foundation, which may have originated somewhere in the northern Plains; the addition of a second smoke flap and the change from mere holes into pockets in these flaps to receive the poles. There is no evidence to show these changes took place in any one area or another within the Plains nor that they occurred simultaneously. Although the last two of these changes had been more widely accepted over the Plains, the reason may lie in the fact that they may have been considered more useful.

The coming of the horse to the Plains did not effect any fundamental change in the tipi. Kroeber has said that before the advent of the horse, the eastern agricultural tribes showed a higher development than the more nomadic tribes of the west Plains. However, when the horse arrived, the emphasis swung from the east to the west, and a high elaboration of traits already present

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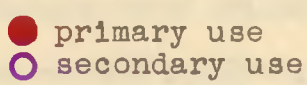
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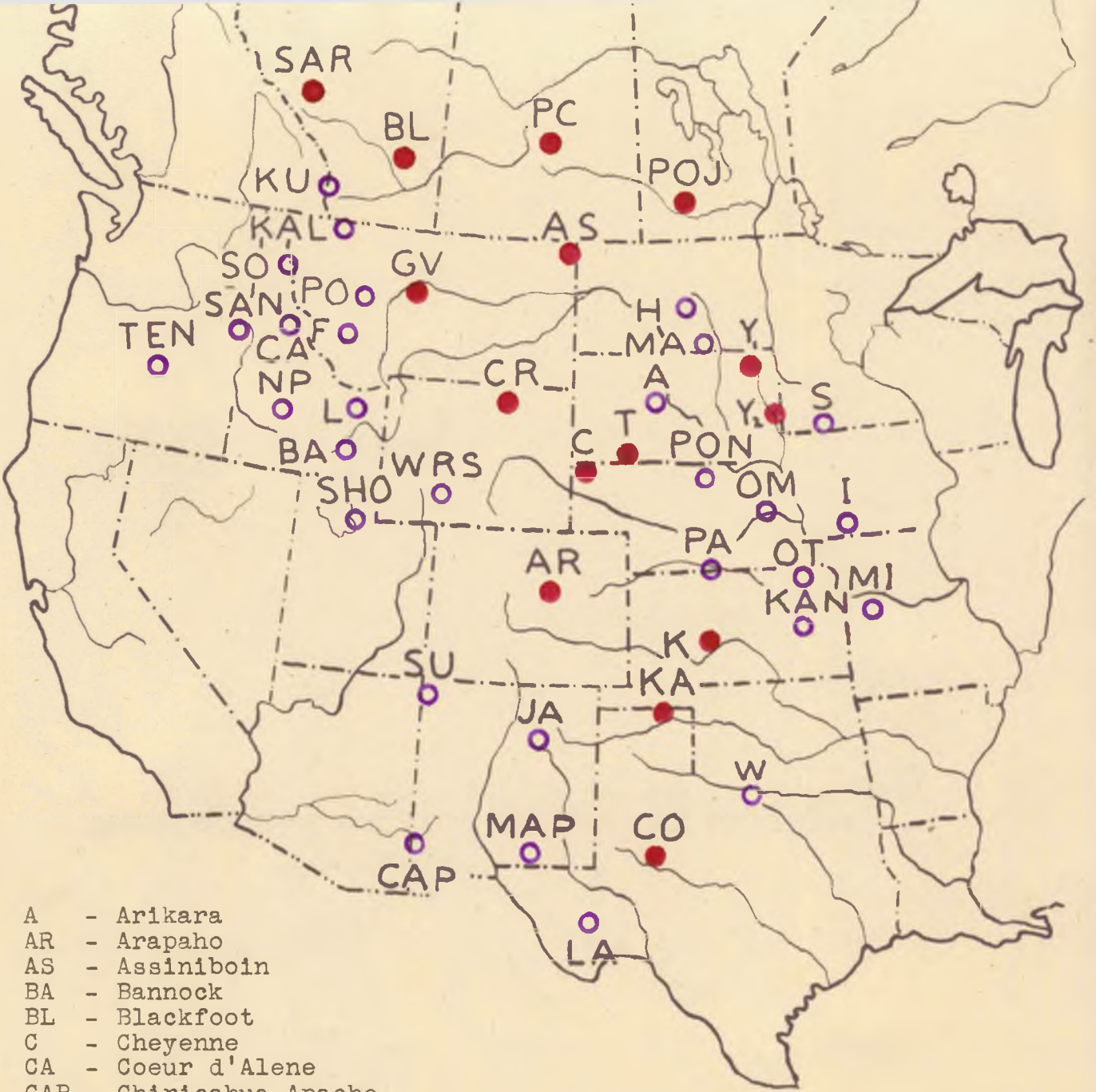
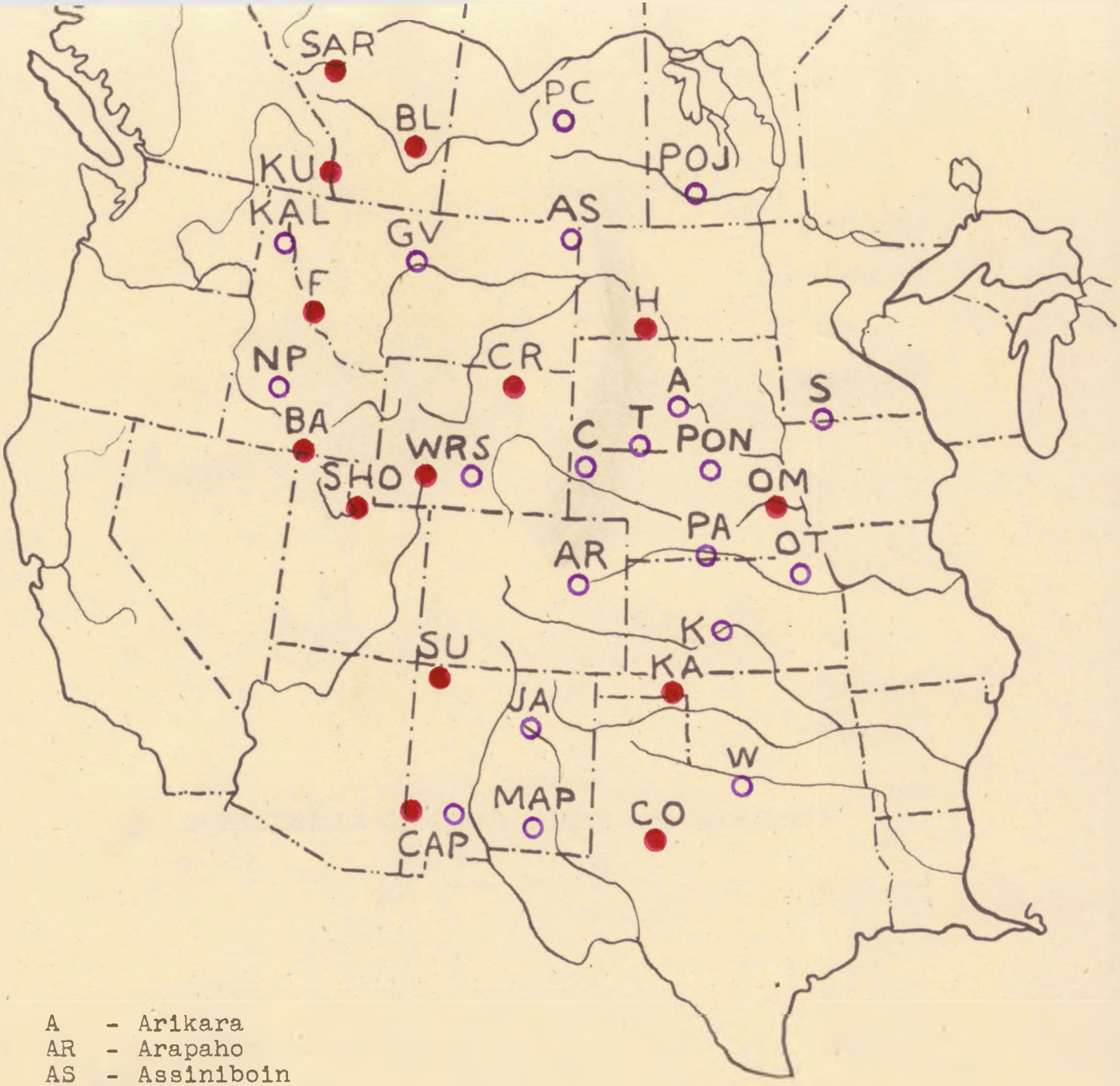


A - Arikara
AR - Arapaho
AS - Assiniboin
BA - Bannock
BL - Blackfoot
C - Cheyenne
CA - Coeur d'Alene
CAP - Chiricahua Apache
CO - Comanche
CR - Crow
F - Flathead
GV - Gros Ventre
H - Hidatsa
I - Iowa
JA - Jicarilla Apache
K - Kiowa
KA - Kiowa Apache
KAL - Kalispel
KAN - Kansa
KU - Kutenai
L - Lemhi
LA - Lipan Apache
MA - Mescalero Apache
MAP - Mandan
MI - Missouri
NP - Nez Perce
OM - Omaha
OT - Oto
PA - Pawnee
PC - Plains Cree
PO - Pend d'Oreilles
POJ - Plains Ojibwa
PON - Ponca
S - Santee
SAN - Sanpoil
SAR - Sarci
SHO - Shoshoni
SO - Southern Okanagon
SU - Southern Ute
T - Teton
TEN - Tenino
W - Wichita
WRS - Wind River Shoshoni
Y - Yankton
Y - Yanktonai

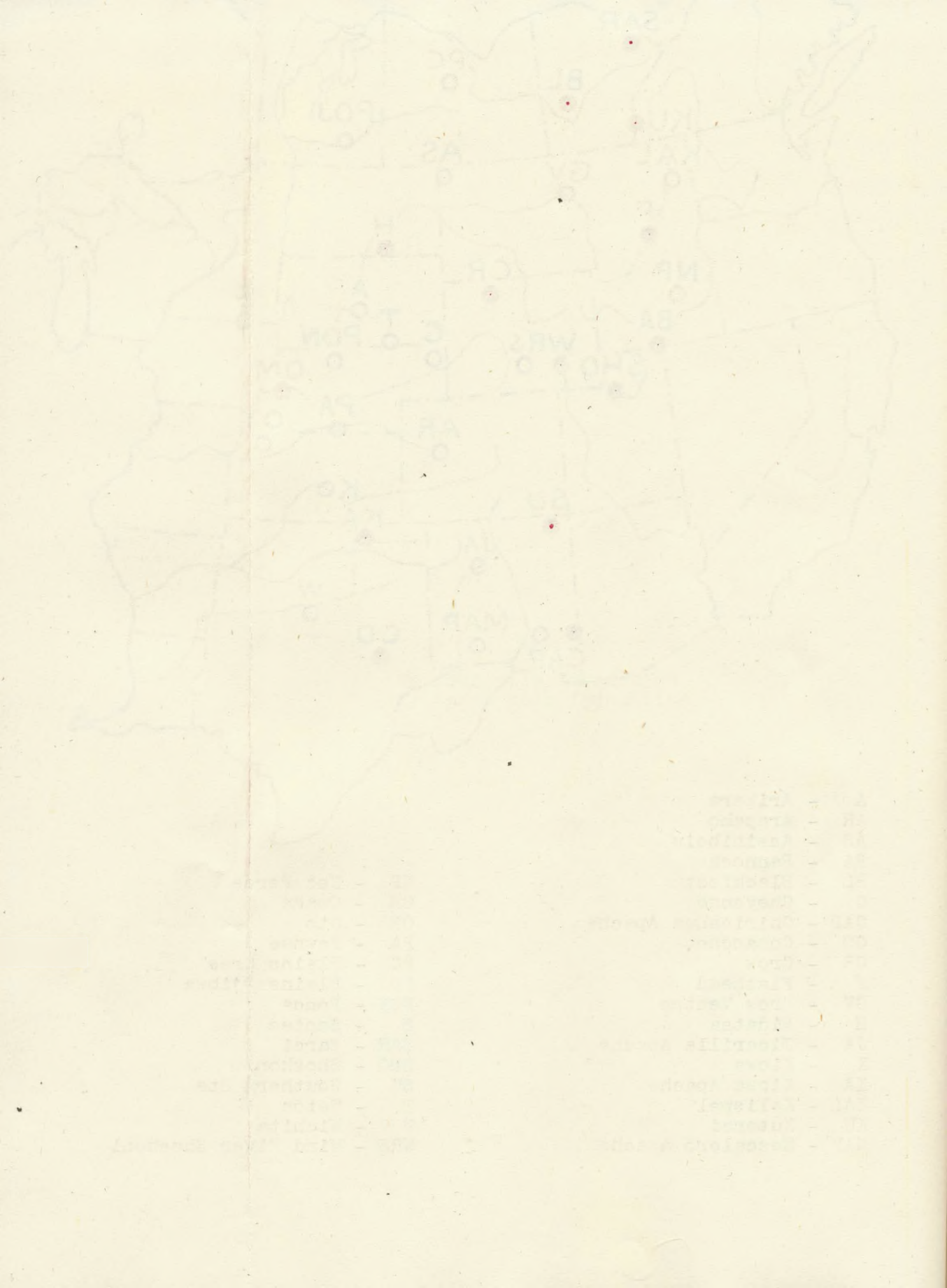
DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE AND FOUR POLE FOUNDATION

DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE AND FOUR POLE FOUNDATION

● four pole foundation
○ three pole foundation



A - Arikara
AR - Arapaho
AS - Assiniboin
BA - Bannock
BL - Blackfoot
C - Cheyenne
CAP - Chiricahua Apache
CO - Comanche
CR - Crow
F - Flathead
GV - Gros Ventre
H - Hidatsa
JA - Jicarilla Apache
K - Kiowa
KA - Kiowa Apache
KAL - Kalispel
KU - Kutenai
MAP - Mescalero Apache
NP - Nez Perce
OM - Omaha
OT - Oto
PA - Pawnee
PC - Plains Cree
POJ - Plains Ojibwa
PON - Ponca
S - Santee
SAR - Sarci
SHO - Shoshoni
SU - Southern Ute
T - Teton
W - Wichita
WRS - Wind River Shoshoni



DISTRIBUTION OF INNER LINING AND BACK-REST

DISTRIBUTION OF INNER LINING AND BACK-REST

● inner lining
○ back-rest

AS - Assiniboin
BL - Blackfoot
C - Cheyenne
CR - Crow
GV - Gros Ventre
LA - Lipan Apache
PC - Plains Cree
SAR - Sarci
T - Teton

occurred.[18] The tipi became larger, and the poles became longer. There is no evidence to show whether the horse brought a greater development of decoration because of more leisure time from economic pursuits. Certainly, it is safe to assume that such a form of elaboration as the tremendously long poles of the Crow tipi would not have been practical with dog traction.

II.

Our inquiry may now be pointed towards seeing if the same cultural relations hold for material and non-material culture alike. The dissemination of a myth has been chosen as the example of non-material culture. Does intangible culture manifest the same characteristics of diffusion and modification as material culture? Emphasis should not be put wholly on diffusion of myths, yet as Boas wrote, "It is much easier to prove dissemination than to follow up developments due to inner forces. . . ."[19] However, by laying out the distribution of the various segments of the myth selected for study, some significant patterns may be observed.

Certain fundamental elements which collectively

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[18] A. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas, p. 77.

[19] F. Boas, Race, Language and Culture, p. 284.

constitute a complete tale occur with very little change over a wide geographical area, while sometimes the characters, details, and even orientation of the tale may show wide diversity. While the salient features of the story are part of the cultural stock-in-trade, the medium of transference from folklore to recorder is the informant. The emphasis he places on certain aspects are culturally conditioned, even though details are at the mercy of the informant's memory, interests, and inventiveness, which are influenced by mental associations, variance between actual and mythological events, and the informant's own psychic type.

There are several Plains myths, such as that of Lodge-Boy and Throwaway, which would lend themselves to analysis with respect to the relative distributions--hence differential diffusion--of their component elements. Old Woman's Grandson was chosen because of its complexity (that is, the large number of elements incorporated) and the many variations of these elements. Much of the data on this myth has been collected by Reichard[20] and Lowie,[21]

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[20] G. Reichard, Literary Types.

[21] R. Lowie, Studies in Plains Indian Folklore.

whose work was based on the myth analysis in Boas' KUTENAI TALES.

Actually, Old Woman's Grandson seems to be a composite of two tales: (1) Star-Husband--which has a wide distribution from the Kaska in northwestern Canada to the Caddo in the south Plains, and from the Snuqualmi on the west coast to Nova Scotia on the east; and (2) the adventures of a culture hero, Grandson, with a more local distribution centering around the north Plains area. It is interesting to note that the Shoshoni and Chipewyan had tales of Grandson as a culture hero without the accompanying Star-Husband story. The combination of these two tales in the Old Woman's Grandson myth constitutes a suitable Plains culture trait for use in demonstrating processes of change in intangible culture.

As the Crow tipi was taken as a point of departure, so here a Hidatsa version of this composite tale will be used (a Hidatsa version, rich in detail, is recorded by Lowie).

The Hidatsa tale in brief is as follows.

> Because of an argument between Sun and Moon as to which tribe had the best looking women, a contest was to take place between Sun's choice (toad) and Moon's (Hidatsa woman), on the basis of who could make the best crunching noise when she ate.

Some Hidatsa women were gathering wood, when one of them spied a porcupine which she pursued up a tree, the tree becoming taller and taller until she found herself in another land. There she met Moon who led her to his lodge where meat was given her. She ate with a fine crunching noise. But Toad had mixed charcoal with her meat to give the required sound. However, it ran down her breast and made her black. Moon laughed at her, so she jumped on Moon's back and would not get off. The spot still seen on Moon is Toad.

Moon married the Hidatsa, and she bore him a son. When the boy was old enough, Moon gave him a bow and arrows, at the same time voicing two tabus: he must not shoot meadowlarks nor dig the female turnip. But he broke both. Through a hole from which the turnip was removed he saw his Hidatsa village below and the meadowlark, at which he shot but missed, told him what it was.

The boy wanted to return to their village, so his mother gave her consent. She ordered him to kill a buffalo and to obtain all the sinews. He forgot one, so that after they had fashioned a rope from these sinews and lowered themselves through the hole under the female turnip, they found that the rope was too short. When Moon returned and discovered them hanging at the end of the rope, he was furious. He picked up a stone and told it to kill his wife but not to harm his son. The woman was killed and the sinew broke, allowing the boy to drop to earth unhurt.

The boy's tracks were found by Old Woman, who tested the sex of the owner by leaving girls' and boys' toys near the path to see which would be picked up. She adopted the boy.

Old Woman warned the boy not to go to a certain hillside. However, he went and found two bears who wanted to kill him. He tamed them. Then she warned him against going to Red Butte. Grandson went there and found a door on the east side of the hill which he entered. Inside were rattlesnakes who were cordial and asked him to join them. He sat on a flat stone; they offered meat containing their poisoned fangs. While Grandson

was eating, the snakes went underground and attempted to enter his body, but were foiled by the flat stone. Grandson cooked the meat even more, thereby hurting the snakes' mouths, and was not poisoned.

The snakes were on an eagle hunt, and as was the custom, wanted to tell stories. Grandson told his story; the snakes put their heads on wooden pillows and went to sleep. Grandson took a flint knife and began to decapitate them. The last one awoke and escaped. As he did so, he warned, "You must not lie down and drink water, Grandson."

Grandson returned to Old Woman's lodge. There it was customary for her to leave a bowl of mush for him. However, he noticed that all the mush was gone and no one could have done it. He pulled back the covers from her bed and found a big snake which he killed. When he told Grandmother, she pretended to be glad, but secretly she sorrowed because it was her friend.

While Grandson hunted up the Missouri, he found a village of Indians who looked very thin. When asked, they replied that the reason for it was a bald-headed person came out of a hole in a log and turned the meat sour. Grandson transformed him into an owl. In another village where people were thin, the reason given was that a white raven warned the buffalo. Grandson captured the bird and released him with permission to eat whatever people threw away. In still another village, the reason was that the elk killed the hunters. Grandson captured Elk and told him that he must not harm the hunters but be a source of food.

Once Grandson lay down to drink; a snake entered his mouth and went up to his brain. Because he pretended to be dead for some time, the rattlesnake started to leave. But Grandson caught the snake and finally released him on the condition that he would be quiet, not harm people, and not come out of his hole very often. Snake left, but reappeared to say that if man disobeyed his rules, he would harm them.

Grandson returned to the lodge. Two men butchered a cow. They removed a fetus and offered it to Grandson, who was afraid, and climbed a tree. They hung the fetus on the tree, forcing Grandson to stay where he was for a long time until he was very thin. They agreed to remove the fetus if he would give his grandmother to be their daughter-in-law.

So Grandson descended and told his grandmother what had transpired. She agreed to the arrangement, but said that she would make it difficult for them. When the men approached the lodge, she changed herself into a spider and climbed a tent pole to watch. Meanwhile, she had changed one of her servants, a mole, into a young woman with Grandmother's face. When one of the men claimed what he thought was Grandmother, he smelled earth and knew that he had been duped. Grandson called on the old woman to come down, which she did. They gave her medicines: this was the origin of the Two-Men Ceremony.

Because Grandson did not have a magic bow, Grandmother told him to go to the men's tipi and pick out the bow with something tied to it and run away. He accomplished this deed. The two men began to starve without their magic bow and came to Grandson who told them they would not starve if they gave him the corn ceremony and the skin of the antelope chief. They agreed to the conditions. They hunted and asked each antelope how to approach the antelope chief without detection. One antelope told them that there were only four kinds of antelopes and the chief knew them all. But if they said they were from the other side of the mountains, and they smelled, looked, and urinated like true antelope, they would succeed. They were able to pass as antelope before the chief, and when he slept they changed themselves back into men and killed him. They returned to Old Woman's lodge. She thought they would not be able to accomplish this feat.

What seem to be the stable elements, and what items were changed in the course of its dissemination without altering the myth to such an extent that the components

on which our interest centers would not be recognizable?

The Grandson myth is a composite of two tales: Star-Husband, and the exploits of a culture hero, Grandson. Star-Husband, as a single-unit tale, is distributed widely over North America, being found as an independent tale in the north among the Kaska, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Kutenai, in one version of a Blackfoot myth (which may have been just a fragment of the longer Old Woman's Grandson myth), Assiniboin, Ojibwa, and Eastern Cree. Farther south, in the United States, it is found among the Quileute, Quinault, Nez Perce, Wind River Shoshoni, Oto, Kiowa, Wichita, Caddo, Seneca, Micmac and Passamaquoddy. (Only two instances were found where Grandson was a culture hero without the previous celestial marriage--among the Chipewyan of western central Canada, and the Shoshonean people of the Basin.)[22]

Both of these units must be present in the complete myth.

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22 The author has taken much of this information from G. Reichard's paper, LITERARY TYPES AND DISSEMINATION OF MYTHS, and he used her sources. As with the tipi, the information is systematically arranged in the appendix.

Another constant element was the dialogue which took place either in the sky or on the ground. Sun and Moon argued the merits of earthly females among the Gros Ventre, Crow, Hidatsa, and Arapaho. The much more common element in the Star-Husband tale, however, is the discussion by two girls of their wish to marry stars. This is recorded from Kaska, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Shuswap, Snuqualmi, Quileute, Quinault, Ojibwa, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Teton, Santee, Wind River Shoshoni and Oto. Among the Blackfoot, Kutenai, Arikara, Pawnee, Micmac, and Passamaquoddy, two girls were talking but only one expressed the wish to marry a star. In the far south of the Plains area, among the Wichita and Caddo, a single girl thought of how she would like to marry a star. In short, the distribution of these variations is as follows: the celestial debate--north and west Plains; two girls wishing to merry stars--Canada and the northern United States; two girls are talking and one girl wants to marry a star--northwest Plains, middle Plains, and the far eastern United States; one girl thinks of how she would like to marry a star--the south Plains.

The Gros Ventre, Crow, Hidatsa, Cheyenne, Arikara, Arapaho, and Kiowa felt that some device was necessary to get the young girl into the land of the sky, so they

employed the porcupine decoy which lead the girl up an ever-growing tree. In the usual Star-Husband tale the girls find themselves in the sky on waking after the night when they discussed their wish.

While living with her celestial husband, the girl bore a son. This element appears in all cases where the complete Grandson myth is found. Likewise, another device of literary nature is used to get her started towards her terrestial home: a tabu which she or her son invariably broke. The occurrence of the tabu in the tale is quite constant, but the prohibitions show extreme variability. With the Blackfoot, in one version of the Crow, in Hidatsa, Arikara, and Arapaho versions the tabu is against digging turnips (most widespread tabu); Teton, specify male turnip; Oto, striking ground twice while digging turnips; Hidatsa and Crow, lifting buffalo manure and shooting meadowlarks; Gros Ventre, digging roots of flue flowers, while the Wind River Shoshoni specify roots of big flowers; Santee, Cheyenne, and Kiowa, digging pommes blanches; Snuqualmi and Pawnee, digging too deep for roots; Assiniboin and Kutenai, digging near certain trees; and the Chilcotin tabus sound somewhat like the story of Pandora, because their tabu is against opening a certain box and touching a certain basket. There are

a few other scattered, different tabus; that of looking down holes (Arapaho), moving large rock (Wichita), and looking on the way down (Ojibwa). The distribution of these tabus are pretty scattered. The digging turnip tabu shows the greatest tendency to cluster where it appears in the north Plains.

In all but three cases, a rope is employed by the woman (women, or woman and boy, as the case may be) to descend to earth. (Among Santee, Teton, and Seneca the woman falls through space.) There was tremendous variability in the material from which rope was made: sinew (Gros Ventre, Hidatsa, Crow, Arikara, Arapaho, and Pawnee); no specified material (Kaska, Quinault, one version of Blackfoot, Kutenai, Assiniboin, one version of Ojibwa, and Kiowa); skins (Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Wind River Shoshoni); vines (Chilcotin); spider web (another Blackfoot version); elm bark (Caddo); grass (Cheyenne); roots (another Ojibwa version); soapweed (Wichita); cedar twigs (Snuqualmi); and lariats (Oto). The idea of the rope seems fundamental, but the idea of the material of which it is made seems unimportant to the story, and can thus be material from which each group actually made their ropes.

However, the greatest diversity is shown in the character of Grandson's heroic deeds: he kills snakes

(Gros Ventre, Crow, Hidatsa, Arikara, Pawnee); kills Old Woman's husband (Hidatsa, Crow, Arikara, Arapaho); tames, kills or captures bear (Hidatsa, Crow, Teton, Arikara, Pawnee, Shoshoni); kills monster (Santee, Pawnee, Cheyenne, Snuqualmi, Crow); and many local variants, such as killing caribou among the Chipewyan. The common element of all these deeds is the ridding the world of monsters, rather than overcoming obstacles. The character of each feat depended on the local group. No pattern of distribution is obvious. The greatest number of heroic deeds in one tribe's version or versions occurred among the Crow and Cheyenne.

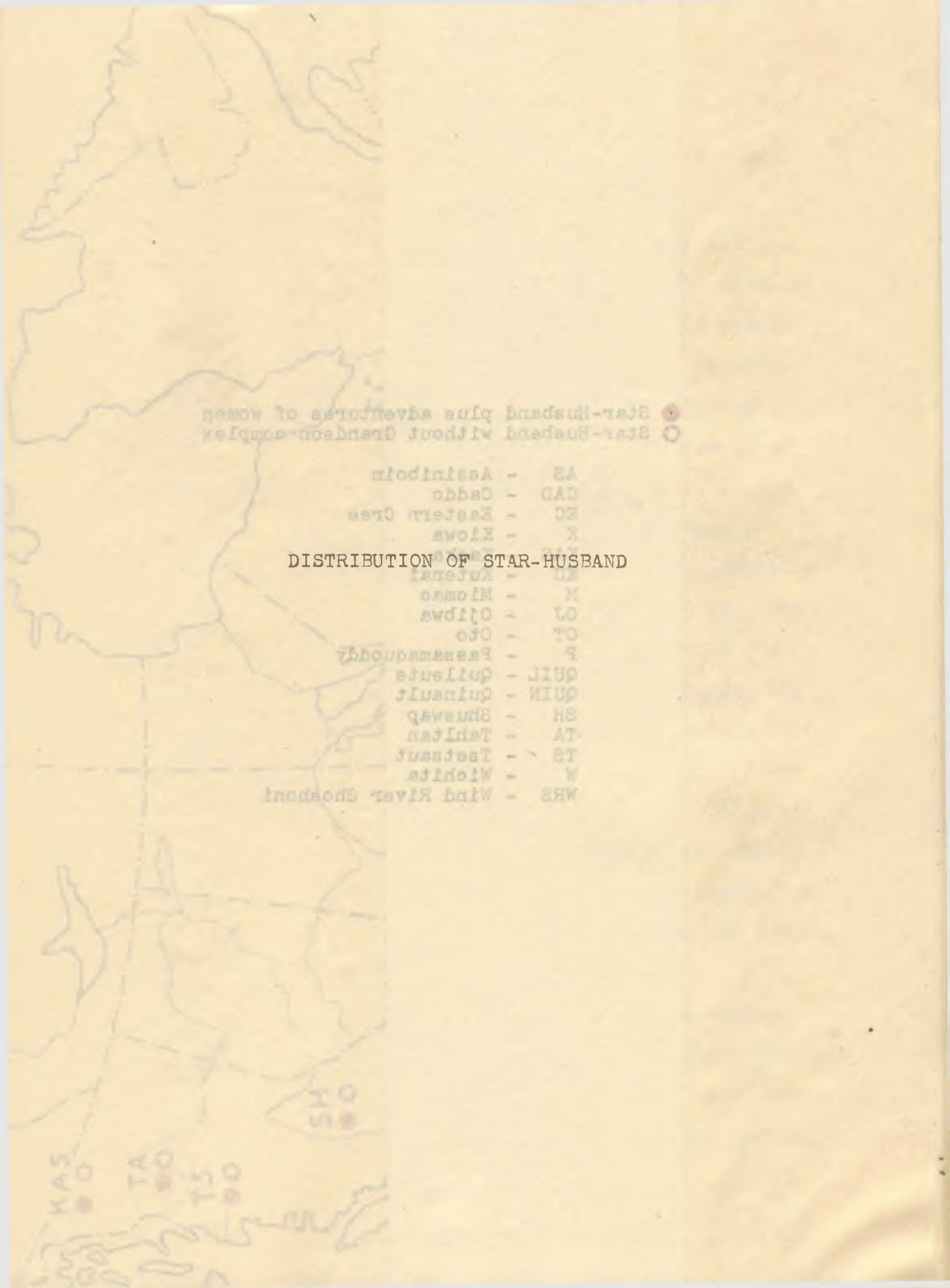
In summary, Old Woman's Grandson myth was built on the structure of

1) marriage between celestial body and a woman;
2) porcupine decoy used to lure woman into the sky;
3) woman bears a son;
4) tabu which is broken;
5) descent to earth, involving the use of a rope;
6) killing the mother, usually by means of a rock;
7) adoption of the boy by an old woman;
8) boy's heroic deeds (which constitutes the whole second half of the composite tale).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLETE MYTH

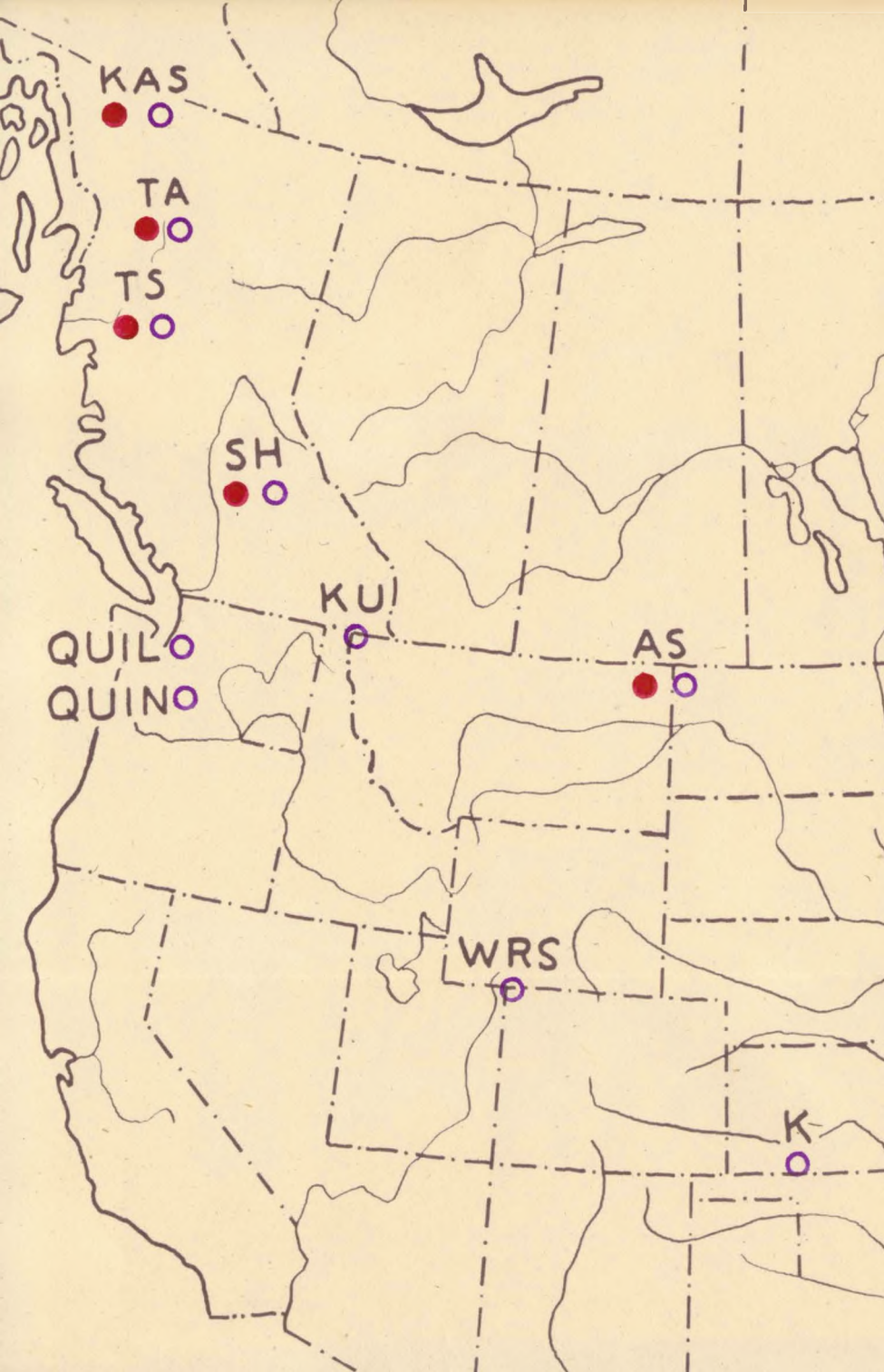
A - Arikara
AR - Arapaho
BL - Blackfoot
C - Cheyenne
CR - Crow
GV - Gros Ventre
H - Hidatsa
PA - Pawnee
S - Santee
SNQ - Snuqualmi
T - Teton

BL
SNQ
GV
H
CR
A
T
S
C
PA
AR


DISTRIBUTION OF STAR-HUSBAND

● Star-Husband plus adventures of women
○ Star-Husband without Grandson complex

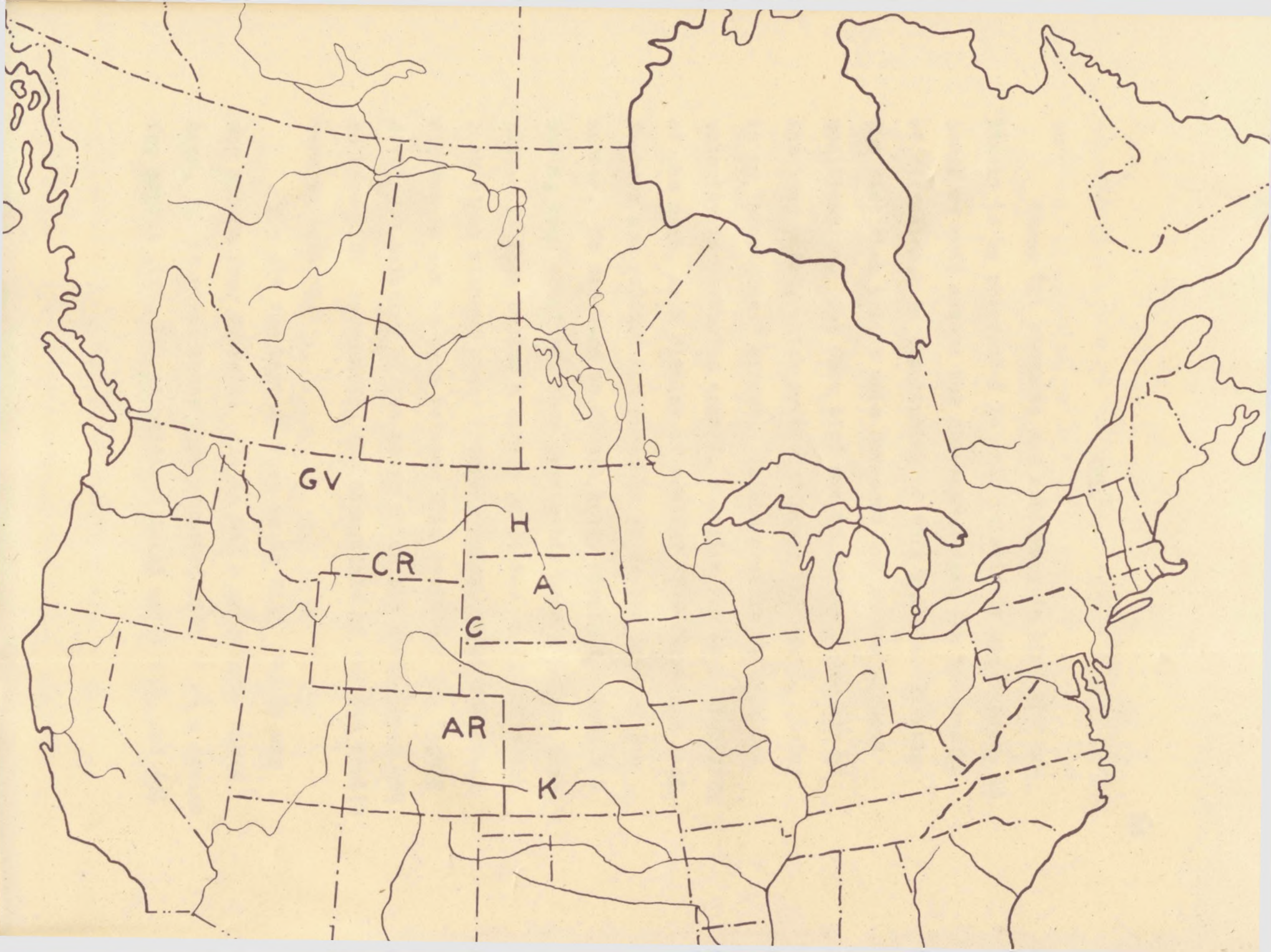
AS - Assiniboin
CAD - Caddo
EC - Eastern Cree
K - Kiowa
KAS - Kaska
KU - Kutenai
M - Micmac
OJ - Ojibwa
OT - Oto
P - Passamaquoddy
QUIL - Quileute
QUIN - Quinault
SH - Shuswap
TA - Tahltan
TS - Tsetsaut
W - Wichita
WRS - Wind River Shoshoni


KAS
TA
TS
SH
KU
QUIL
QUIN
AS
WRS
K

EC
M
OJ
P
OT
W
CAD

PORCUPINE DECOY

A - Arikara
AR - Arapaho
C - Cheyenne
CR - Crow
GV - Gros Ventre
H - Hidatsa
K - Kiowa


GV
H
CR
A
C
AR
K

III.

Since the elements are arbitrary in kind and unlikely to be reinvented in this relatively small area, it seems we must assume the correspondences are the result of diffusion. An examination of this material reveals the fact that traits were borrowed but seldom without modification. The Crow tipi was conspicuous because of its long poles, which protruded above the cover, giving it an "hour-glass" effect. Is the genesis of this peculiarity in aesthetic appeal, a desire for more stability of the tent, or a display of wealth? The first and last factors are related and probably go to the core of the matter. It was hard to obtain long, straight poles, but having been obtained, they presumably made a better display. It then became a matter of taste: a tipi did not look right without these towering poles. What essential difference can be seen between this trait and the highly developed painting of the cover which the Crow appear not to have had? Presumably, the essentials of the two traits were equivalent.

Why did the tipi diffuse as it did? The answer may lie in four factors: (1) it was a successful house type, (2) no other house type competed with it as a device for mobile life, (3) it utilized local materials, and (4)

it conformed to the prevalent Plains habit of utilizing skin as the principal material for artifacts. The tipi grew out of ideas widespread in North America and rooted back in Asia, became more and more specialized, and finally reached its zenith in the northwestern Plains. Before the coming of the horse, all of the essential features of western Plains culture were present, but in a more rudimentary form. When they acquired the horse, this western, nomadic culture blossomed, and the cultural center of gravity swung from the agricultural, eastern tribes to the west. By the 1830's, the Ponca planted corn for the last time, taking on more of the mobile way of life. Thus, it seems clear that the tipi made little progress in its diffusion eastward until the horse made the nomadic life more attractive. Likewise, all available data points to a later spread of the tipi westward into the Plateau. Little progress was made by the tipi into the Basin except on the eastern edge, probably because of a lack of materials, and more important, completely different patterns of behavior.

The tipi simply did not make a dent in the cultural shell of the village tribes of the Southwest, because the pueblo was adequate for their needs. The eastern village tribes did make use of the tipi when on their periodic buffalo hunts, for the duration of which

they assumed much western Plains culture.

These data further show that the tipi did not normally diffuse as a complex, but rather that certain items spread independently. An exception to this generality would be the case of the Sarci who seem to have taken the Blackfoot tipi lock, stock, and barrel. Another exception would be the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa who presumably borrowed the complete complex, as it was then, when they emerged from the woods. However, we do have information on the fact that among the Plains Cree, there was a local modification when the back-rest was used by men of prestige only instead of by the general populace.

There is no evidence that any of the peripheral tribes acquired the tipi in an elaborated form and then allowed it to atrophy. The tipi area seems to have been in the process of enlargement up to the conquest of the Indian by the whites. Although there is no certain evidence, the three pole foundation appears to be a later modification developing from a focus which lay to the east of the center of elaboration.

The three pole foundation, two smoke flaps instead of one, and pockets in these flaps for the adjusting poles were improvements. It is interesting to note the tenacity with which certain tribes held to the old way

of doing things in spite of known advantages of features in use in adjoing tribes (it might be compared to the persistence of placing the engine at the front of our automobiles). Undoubtedly, the value of the improvement was seen by the innovator, but the impetus which caused this change to spread was more of the cultural order rather than any wholesale recognization of the value of the improvement. Incidentally, it is wise to remember that what seem improvements to us may not have been so evaluated by the Plains peoples.

Why did the myth spread? The best reasons seem to be that it was a good story, and that there was no cultural conflict. Like the tipi, Old Woman's Grandson myth was an elaboration on a basic idea which was very widespread in North America. And like the tipi, the myth was never the same from tribe to tribe. These variations did not occur hit or miss; they were the result of imagination, and memory lapses of the informant, group differences caused by adaptation of the tale to a local situation, re-localization, and incorporation with elements from other myths.

The plot in the complete story seems to show little variation: details such as the nature of the tabu and the material from which the rope was made seem to be of little importance, and therefore could be changed with the local

situation. While there is no specific data on whether or not the story was told in each tribe as if one of their own woman were involved, it can be assumed that probably each group re-localized it. However, a Crow version simulates the Hidatsa which specifies that the celestial contest was between Frog and an Hidatsa woman. Possibly, one of the strongest factors in the dissemination of myths is the association of the whole or parts of the new story to one of their own. This is illustrated by parallelism of the heroic deeds of one or both of the twins in "Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away," and those of Grandson. Undoubtedly, there has been mutual contamination. This association is strongest when the new tale is within the borrowing tribe's cultural patterns.

If we return to the observations made earlier in this paper on how culture changes, certain generalizations appear valid with respect to these two traits.

1) Culture traits arise in an area and diffuse outwards from their sources. This is purely a descriptive statement, which is verified by the spacial distribution of the two traits.

2) The diffusion is asymmetrical and proceeds at varying rates in the several directions. Mention has already been made of the case of the tipi which was used

at an early date in the eastern Plains as a mobile house, yet it filtered into the Plateau only very recently. The factors which govern the speed and direction of culture diffusion are the very essence of culture diffusion.

If it could be demonstrated that there ever was a people who lived, as it were, in vacuo, without contacts and without any genius causing new relationships with old factors, there would be no problem of the mechanics of culture diffusion. But a group is always confronted with a choice, either an invention or something introduced from the outside. Dixon lists four factors for choice of cultural items; (1) cultural status of the people; (2) their cultural antecedents; (3) their cultural contacts; (4) their group psychology.[23]

While Dixon was not thinking specifically in terms of the geographical aspects of these factors, there is a relationship, perhaps somewhat indirect, between the physical environment and cultural status, cultural antecedents and group psychology. Gayton writes, "The role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance."[24]

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[23] R. Dixon, Building of Cultures, p. 30.

[24] A. Gayton, Culture--Environment Integration, p. 267.

The important thing with respect to culture traits in the Plains is that geographical determinism was passive and worked through a cultural screen.

Other factors which might influence cultural choice are extent of contact between groups, prestige of innovator, novelty of the new item, and effects of language. Information is only available for the last factor, language, with respect to these two Plains traits. The distribution of both the myth, the tipi and parts of both, cut across linguistic lines. Perhaps the Plains is an atypical situation because of the unusual development of the Plains Indian sign language.

Considering the separate situation under which each diffusion took place, the conditions of that event must be considered. There is no tropism among cultural phenomena, that is, nothing intrinsic which carries mandatory powers, but a state of mind with the recipients of the new item.

3) Diffusion is not always continuous. The data on the tipi offer no illustration of this. However, the case of the Snuqualmi having the complete Grandson myth (the nearest other tribe, spacially speaking, was the Gros Ventre) offers an example. It is not clear why this reoccurrence in a remote area happened, although generalizations can be offered which may or may not apply--tribal

movements, long range individual movements, atrophy of the trait in the intervening area.

4) The center of elaboration may or may not represent the newest development of the trait. This is illustrated by the tipi whose center of elaboration was the Crow-Cheyenne area where two seemingly archaic traits persisted--four pole foundation and holes in the smoke flaps for the adjusting poles (Crow).

5) The peripheral manifestations of the trait may or may not be the oldest form. In general, peripherally situated tipis exhibited more archaic features than those existing near the center of elaboration.

6) The centers of elaboration of both the myth and the tipi were not in the geographical center of the Plains culture area.

7) and 8) With both of these culture items, there is considerable difficulty in placing the location of the numerous changes. However, there appears to be evidence that the three pole foundation for the tipi might have been an improvement occurring somewhere to the east of the center of elaboration. There is always the possibility that the center of elaboration has shifted, but that would mean there had been a decay of the trait in that area, and such appears not to have been the case.

9) Culture traits undergo change as they diffuse. Ample illustration of this "law" is shown by the tremendous variation found in regards both items.

10) There are differentials in the speed, stability, or extent of change between material and non-material culture. No essential difference could be ascertained between material and non-material culture items, because of an inadequate knowledge of the simultaneous operation of other unknowns. For example, the area of distribution of the tipi was greater than that of the complete myth. But is this due to a faster diffusion on the part of the tipi or the fact that it is an older culture item? Or is it due to a shrinkage of an earlier large area of distribution of the myth? Perhaps the myth disappeared in the area between the Snuqualmi and the Gros Ventre. In one Nez Perce tale, Sun has two wives, a woman and a frog. Frog jumped up on Sun's eye and remained there.[25] One Thompson story incorporates into a Coyote tale, an incident in which he digs a large hole and the wind rushes up, showing that he is in the sky-country.[26] Another Thompson tale says that Moon formerly was much brighter, but his

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[25] H. Spinden, Nez Perce Tales, p. 195.

[26] J. Teit, Thompson Tales, p. 7.

sister jumped up on his face.[27] However, this does not give information concerning a differential in speed or extent of change between material and intangible culture.

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[27] J. Teit, Traditions of the Thompson Indians, p. 91.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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AA American Anthropologist. Washington, New York, Lancaster, Menasha.

AMNH American Museum of Natural History. New York.

APAM Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. New York.

AR Anthropological Records. Berkeley.

BAE Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

CDM Canada Department of Mines, Ottawa.

EWT Early Western Travels, ed. R. G. Thwaites. Cleveland.

FMAS Field Museum Anthropological Series. Chicago.

JAF Journal of American Folklore. Boston, New York.

TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.

UCPAAE University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology. Berkeley.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Tipi

General distribution and extent of use. Use of the tipi was found over the whole Plains culture area and in the adjacent parts of the Plateau, Basin and Southwest. It can be divided into primary and secondary use.

Primary use means that it was the only house type present or the principal one. The following tribes made primary use of the tipi:

Sarci - Jenness, D. (1938): "Their one and only home was the familiar tipi. . . ." (Sarcee Indians of Alberta, p. 13)

Blackfoot - Hayden, F. (1862): "These bands all live in skin tents. . . ." (Contributions, p. 250)
Wissler, C. (1910): "Among the Blackfoot it (tipi) was the primary, indeed, the only shelter, winter and summer alike." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Plains Cree - Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "The only dwelling was the hide-covered tipi. . . ." (Plains Cree, p. 210)

Plains Ojibwa - Skinner, A. (1914): ". . . used buffalo-hide tipi almost exclusively. . . ." (Cultural Position of Plains Ojibwa, p. 316)

Assiniboin - Henry, A. (1901): no other form mentioned (Travels and Adventures, p. 288)
Lowie, R. (1909): no other house form noted. (The Assiniboin, pp. 14-15)
Wissler, C. (1910): "Among the former (primary users), may be counted. . .Assiniboin. . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Denig, E. (1930): no other house form noted (Tribes of the Upper Missouri, pp. 577-579)

Gros Ventre - Wissler, C. (1909): used tipis all the year around (Types of Dwellings, p. 484)
Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114).

Crow - Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Lowie, R. (1922): ". . . the conical skin covered tent was the characteristic dwelling," (Crow Material Culture, p. 222)
Campbell, W. (1927): no mention of any other aboriginal house type. (Tipis of the Crows, pp. 87-104)

Cheyenne - Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Campbell, W. (1915): no mention of other types (Cheyenne Tipi, pp. 685-694)
Bushnell, D. (1922): ". . . the Cheyenne appear to have erected several types of shelters or habitations, governed by the available supply of materials necessary for their construction." (Villages, etc., p. 25)

Teton - Gass, P. (1808): no mention of other house types (Journal, p. 44)
Maximilian, Prince of Wied (1906): no mention of other types (Travels, Vol. 22, p. 327)
Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Arapaho - Kroeber, A. (1907): no mention of other types (The Arapaho, p. 60)
Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Kiowa - Battey, T. (1875): no mention of other types (Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians, p. 122)
Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Kiowa Apache - Battey, T. (1875): no mention of other types (Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians, p. 94)
Long, S. (1905): "These skin lodges, the only habitations of wandering savages. . . ." (Journal, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 16, p. 109)

Comanche - Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Gregg, J. (1933): no mention of other types (Commerce of the Prairies, p. 415)
Foreman, G. (1937): no mention of other types (Adventure on Red River, p. 45)

Secondary use is defined as used along with a dominant or equally successful house type, or use only during certain times of the year, as on migrations and on periodic hunts.

On the western periphery of the tipi area, that is, in the adjacent areas of the Plateau and Basin, the tipi was used with other types. The following tribes illustrate this:

Kutenai and Flathead - Ray, V. (1939): "Dwellings in the Plateau fall into three general classes: the earth lodge, the mat lodge, and the tipi." (Cultural Relations in the Plateau, p. 132)
Ray, V. (1942): other types (Culture Element Distributions XXII, p. 178)

Coeur d'Alene - Teit, J. (1930): "The conical lodge . . . was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alene . . . After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alene, tents of buffalo skins, . . . began to supersede all other kinds of lodges. . . ." (Salishan Tribes, p. 58)
Ray, V. (1942): no tipis (Culture Element Distributions XII, p. 178

Pend d'Oreilles - Teit, J. (1930): "It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also the Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes." (Salishan Tribes, p. 58)
Ferris, W. (1940): "Listen to the rattle of numberless lodgepoles trained (trailed) by packhorses. . . ." (Life in the Rocky Mountains, p. 110)

Nez Perce - Townsend, J. (1905): "These (tipis) are the kind of lodges universally used by the mountain Indians while traveling. . . ." (Narrative of a Journey, p. 225)
Spinden, H. (1908): "Certainly at a later date lodges of buffalo skin were very common. It is probable, however, that until horses were procured buffalo robes were too valuable as blankets to be used for house coverings." (Nez Perce Indians, p. 197)

Bannock - Wissler, C. (1910): mentions photograph of a Bannock tipi. (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)

Steward, J. (1943): "The tipi was not used until winter." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 273)

Northern Shoshoni - Lowie, R. (1924): "Unfortunately we do not know what type (three or four pole foundation) was employed by Northern Shoshoni." (Shoshonean Ethnography, p. 221)

Hekandika Shoshoni - Lowie, R. (1909): "Skin-lodges were, however, the common dwelling of all bands in contact with the Prairie tribes during the last century." (The Northern Shoshone, p. 183)
Hoebel, E. (1935): "Though there were no tipis at Bannock Creek, there were a dozen to be seen among the hundred lodges that formed the camp at Fort Hall." (Hekandika Shoshone Sun Dance, pp. 570-571)
Steward, J. (1943): used tipis in winter only (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Southern Ute - Wissler, C. (1910): perhaps some Ute made primary use of the tipi (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Lowie, R. (1924): "The majority were living in small tipis of Plains type, covered with canvas." (Shoshonean Ethnography, p. 219)

The tipi diffused recently further west into the Plateau area and was used with other house forms; e.g.

Southern Okanagan - Post, R. and Commons, R. (1938): "The first buffalo skin tipis were seen by Old Henry, . . . when the soldiers came," (presumably 1855-56). (The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagan, p. 39)

Kalispel - Spier, L. (1921): tipi present as a secondary form. (field notes)

Sanpoil - Ray, V. (1932): ". . . the canvas covered tipi has replaced the mat hut for summer use." (Sanpoil and Nespelem, p. 31)

Tenino - Spier, L. (1930): "My informants ascribed to them painted tipis . . . of buffalo skin. . . ." (Klamath Ethnography, p. 3)

Lemhi - Steward, J. (1943): use with other types (Culture Element Distributions XXIII, p. 306)

Fort Hall Shoshoni - Steward, J. (1943): use with other types (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Four Apache groups used the Plains tipi with other types. They were the:

Jicarilla Apache - Goddard, P. (1921): tipi used (Indians of the Southwest, p. 143)
Opler, M. (1936): "The literature refers to no other type of dwelling for the Jicarilla than the tipi, yet within the life span of the oldest people of the tribe, the favorite and more common house type was a dome-shaped frame covered with a thatching of leaves or bark." (Jicarilla Apache Culture, p. 205)
Opler, M. (1946): use of the tipi as a secondarily preferred house. (Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, p. 3)

Mescalero Apache - Goddard, P. (1921): used Plains tipi (Indians of the Southwest, p. 143)
Gifford, E. (1940): tipi used (Culture Element Distributions XII, p. 22)

Chiricahua Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): tipi used (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)
Opler, M. (1941): "Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and better made, though it never became the favored form." (An Apache Life-way, p. 386)

Lipan Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): tipi used (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

On the eastern and southern periphery of the tipi area, the tipi was used in a secondary fashion, either as a seasonal house, or when the group was on the move, or with other types. This is illustrated by the following tribes:

Hidatsa - Mathews, W. (1877): skin lodges were used in the winter and on hunting trips. (Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians, p. 7)
Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use of tipi (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Wilson, G. (1934): "The winter camping place was selected in advance by the owner of a well-reputed sacred bundle. As soon as the Hidatsa arrived . . . they set up their tipis." (Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 396)

Mandan - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Bushnell, D. (1922): "On such trips away from their permanent earth-lodge villages the Mandan make use of the skin-covered tipi." (Villages, etc., p. 136)

Arikara - Hayden, F. (1862): skin tents used in winter (Contributions, p. 354)
Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Bushnell, D. (1922): ". . . they had skin tents which were occupied when away from their towns on war or hunting expeditions." (Villages, etc., p. 178)

Santee - Seymour, E. (1850): ". . . the Indians were living in skin lodges, such as they use during the winter, and when traveling." (Sketches of Minnesota, p. 75 as cited by:
Bushnell, D., Villages, etc., p. 50)
Prescott, P. (1854): "The skin lodges they carry about on their backs and on horses through all the winter hunts." (Manners and Customs, p. 67)

Ponca - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use of the tipi (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Skinner, A. (1915): "The Ponca say that when they resided in Nebraska they lived in earth-lodges like those of the Omaha . . . They declare that they never used the bark wigwam, but had buffalo hide tipis. . . ." (Ponca Societies and Dances, p. 779)

Omaha - Dorsey, J. (1882): "But whenever the whole tribe migrated with the skin tents, as when they went after the buffaloes. . . ." (Omaha Sociology, p. 219)
Dorsey, J. (1892): "The tent was used when the people were migrating, and also when they were traveling in search of the buffalo." (Omaha Dwellings, etc., p. 271)
Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Among the Omaha, there was seemingly an economic factor involved whether the family lived in an earth lodge or a tent, vide:

Fletcher, A. and La Flesche, F. (1911): "The erection of this class of dwelling [earth lodge] required

considerable labor, hence only the industrious and thrifty possessed these lodges." (The Omaha Tribe, p. 98)
Bushnell, D. (1922): ". . . the earth lodge and the skin tipi are the only forms of habitations made use of by the Omaha in recent generation." (Villages, etc., pp. 78-79)
Kurz, R. (1937): "Their dwellings consisted both of skin tents (tipis) and clay huts. . . ." (Journal, p. 62)

Oto - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use of tipis (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Bushnell, D. (1922): "When away from the village they would make use of the skin-covered tipi. . . ." (Villages, etc., p. 118)

Iowa - Plank, P. (1908): "The skin tents were carried with them. . . ." Iowa, Sac and Fox Indian Mission, p. 312 as cited by
Bushnell, Villages, etc., p. 114)

Pawnee - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Murie, J. (1916): ". . . tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt. . . ." (Pawnee Societies, p. 639)
Wedel, W. (1936): ". . . and at such times [bi-annual buffalo hunts] recourse was had to the skin tipi so typical of the nomadic tribes of the Plains." (Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology, p. 43)

Kansa - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Bushnell, D. (1922): "It is quite probable that during their journeys . . . the Kansa . . . made use of skin tipis. . . ." (Villages, etc., p. 96)

Missouri - Berry, J. (1936): tipis used on hunting expeditions. (The Missouri Indians, p. 9)

Wichita - Bushnell, D. (1922): "Their movable camps, when away from home on war or hunting expeditions, consisted of the skin-covered tents of the Plains." (Villages, etc., p. 179)

Querechos - Winship, G. (1896): "The tents they make are like field tents, and they set them up over some poles they have made for this purpose, which come together and are tied at the top. . . ." (The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542, p. 578)

Teyas - same as for Querechos

There are a few doubtful cases; the Osage and Caddo as to whether they had tipis; the Yankton-Yanktonai and the Wind River Shoshoni as to whether or not the tipi was the primary house type. After an examination of the very little data available concerning tipis among these tribes, the author is of the opinion that the Osage and Caddo did not have the tipi, that the tipi was the primary dwelling of the Yankton-Yanktonai, and that the date had much to do with whether one thinks of the Wind River Shoshoni as using the tipi as a primary house type or not. In later years, they seem to have used the tipi more and more.

Osage - Wissler, C. (1910): secondary use (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
McDermott, J. ed. (1940): no mention of tipi-like structure. (Tixier's Travels, p. 159)

Yankton-Yanktonai - Riggs, S. (1893): no mention of any other type. (Dakota Grammar, p. 160)
Wissler, C. (1910): primary (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)

Wind River Shoshoni - Wissler, C. (1910): perhaps tipi was the primary house type (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 114)
Bonner, T. (1931): no mention of other types (Life and Adventures of Beckwourth, p. 61)
Ferris, W. (1940): no mention of other types (Life in the Rocky Mountains, p. 49)

Caddo - Swanton, J. (1942): ". . . we would have to assume that the Caddo were roving about in a wild state and inhabiting tipis . . . This is contrary to all of the information that has come to us regarding the Caddo and is not in accord with common sense." (Source Material of the Caddo, p. 35)

The different cues for determining size have been mentioned and evaluated previously. The judgment as to size was based on the following data:

Crow - Dunraven, Earl of (1876): "A tepee will hold from twelve to fifteen or even twenty individuals. . . ." (Travels, pp. 94-95 as cited by:
Bushnell, D., Villages, etc., pp. 153-154)
Lowie, R. (1922): a small tipi contained seven to eight skins, while a large one had twenty skins. (Crow Material Culture, p. 224)
Campbell, W. (1927): ". . . the Crows make large tipis. . . ." (Tipis of the Crows, p. 92)
Campbell, W. (1927): sixteen to twenty-two poles (Tipis of the Crows, p. 93)
Campbell, W. (1927): twenty-two feet in diameter (Tipis of the Crows, p. 93)

Cheyenne - Campbell, W. (1915): ". . . the size of a tipi, which varies from ten to twenty-five or even thirty feet in diameter. The smallest tents have about a dozen poles; the largest thirty or more." (The Cheyenne Tipi, p. 686)
Bushnell, D. (1922): "The conical skin lodge of the Cheyenne . . . must in earlier times . . . have been rather large." (Villages, etc., p. 24)

Plains Cree - Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "Twelve to twenty buffalo hides were used for a cover." (The Plains Cree, p. 211)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940); "Ten or twelve people usually lived in a single tipi." (The Plains Cree, p. 211)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940): averaged thirteen poles (The Plains Cree, p. 211)

Oto - Mollhausen, B. (1858): "Sixteen long poles . . . were so placed as to form a circle sixteen or eighteen feet in diameter. . . ." (Diary of a Journey, I, pp. 171-175 as cited by:
Bushnell, D., Villages, etc., p. 119)

Omaha - Dorsey, J. (1892): ten to twelve buffalo skins, ten to twelve feet high, ten to fifteen feet in diameter (Omaha Dwellings, p. 272)
Bradbury, J. (1904: "The frame work of the lodges consists of ten or twelve long poles, placed in the periphery of a circle of about sixteen feet in diameter." (Bradbury's Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 5, p. 88)
Fletcher, A. and La Flesche, F. (1906): nine to twelve buffalo skins. (The Omaha Tribe, p. 95)
Fletcher, A. and La Flesche, F. (1906): ten to twenty poles (The Omaha Tribe, p. 96)

Blackfoot - Grinnell, G. (1892): eighteen poles and twelve cowskins make a tent fourteen feet in diameter and ten feet high. (Blackfoot Lodge Tales, pp. 198-199)
Wissler, C. (1910): "Twelve to fourteen skins were regarded as necessary to the making of a tipi cover . . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, pp. 100-101)
Wissler, C. (1910): "The diameter of the base averages about fourteen feet." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 105)
McClintock, W. (1936): twenty poles to the average tipi (The Blackfoot Tipi, p. 86)

Sarci - Jenness, D. (1938): twelve to sixteen hides on fourteen to twenty-four poles. (The Sarcee Indians, p. 13)

Pawnee - Clark, W. (1885): twelve to twenty poles, sixteen feet long; twelve to seventeen feet in diameter. (The Indian Sign Language, p. 373)

Teton - Maximilian, Prince of Wied (1906): fourteen skins to the average tipi. (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, p. 327)

Wind River Shoshoni - Russell, O. (1921): "Snakes" of eastern Idaho and Western Wyoming had "spacious lodges with eleven or thirteen long smooth poles to each lodge." (Journal of A Trapper, pp. 145-146 as cited by:
Steward, J., Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 273)

Assiniboin - Henry, A. (1901): "It was . . . not less than twenty feet in diameter." (Travels, p. 288)

Hidatsa - Wilson, G. (1934): "They camped in a tipi made of fourteen buffalo skins." (Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 396)
Wilson, G. (1934): "Thirteen hides were required for an ordinary sized tipi, though the use of additional skins was not unusual. Tipis were said to have ranged in size from those requiring only seven skins for a cover to a maximum of as many as twenty skins." (Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 416)

Ponca - Skinner, A. (1915): "In all twelve to thirty poles were used in setting up such a lodge." (Ponca Societies and Dances, p. 779)

Mandan - Wilson, G. (1924): "The tent we carried . . . was of thirteen large cowskins . . . There were fifteen poles to our tent, including the two that upheld the smoke hole flaps." (Hidatsa Horse and Dog Culture, p. 292)

Nez Perce - Townsend, J. (1905): ten poles (Narrative, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 21, p. 225)
Spinden, H. (1908): tipi ordinarily had ten to twelve poles. (The Nez Perce Indians, p. 197)

Kalispel - Spier, L. (1921): ten to twelve feet in diameter; eleven to twelve feet high. (Field notes)

Yankton-Yanktonai - Riggs, S. (1893): ". . . and average, it is thought, about ten persons to a lodge." (Dakota Grammar, p. 160)

Lemhi - Steward, J. (1943): ". . . held about eight persons." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 365)
Steward, J. (1943): twelve poles (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Fort Hall Shoshoni - Steward, J. (1943): twelve poles (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Santee - Prescott, P. (1852-54): "These lodges are from eight to fifteen feet in diameter, about ten to fifteen feet high . . . This accommodates from five to ten persons always." (Manners, etc., in Schoolcraft, (3), IV, p. 67)
Riggs, S. (1893): "The Dakota tents on the Missouri do not average more than about six inmates. . . ." (Dakota Grammar, p. 160)

The information concerning the tribes whose tipis were based on the four-pole foundation is as follows:

Sarci - Wissler, C. (1910): four poles (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crows, p. 87)
Wilson, G. (1934): four pole (Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 418)
Jenness, D. (1938): "The large, conical tipis of buffalo hide, erected on four-pole foundations. . . ." (The Sarcee Indians, p. 12)

Blackfoot - Grinnell, G. (1901): "In putting up the lodge the Blackfoot tie four poles together. . . ." (Lodges of the Blackfoot, p. 653)
Wissler, C. (1910): ". . . we may note that the Blackfoot use four poles, tied as a foundation. . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crows, p. 87)

Kutenai - Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crows, p. 87)
Ray, V. (1942): four pole (Culture Element Distributions, XXII, p. 178)

Flathead - Ray, V. (1942): four pole (Culture Element Distributions, XXII, p. 178)

Crow - Wissler, C. (1910): four pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): "The Crow use the second type (the four-pole tipi). . . ." (The Tipis of the Crow, p. 87)

Hidatsa - Wissler, C. (1910): four pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)
Wilson, G. (1934): ". . . the Hidatsa set up their tipis on a foundation framework of four poles." (Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 418)

Fort Hall Shoshoni - Steward, J. (1943): four pole (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Bannock - Steward, J. (1943): four pole (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Hekandika Shoshoni - Hoebel, E. (1935): "The foundation of the tipi frame is of the four pole type." (Hekandika Shoshone Sun Dance, p. 571)
Steward, J. (1943): four pole (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Southern Ute - Lowie, R. (1924): "Inquiry elicited the important fact that these tipis were uniformly erected on a four-pole foundation." (Shoshonean Ethnography, p. 220)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole for Ute (Tipis of the Crow, p. 87)

Omaha - Fletcher, A. and La Flesche, F. (1906): "The four tied poles formed the true framework of the tent." (The Omaha Tribe, p. 96)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 87)

Kiowa Apache - Wissler, C. (1910): four pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Comanche - Wissler, C. (1910): four pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): four pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 87)

The information concerning those tribes who employed three poles as a foundation for their tipis is as follows:

Plains Cree - Skinner, A. (1914): three pole (Notes of the Plains Cree, p. 85)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940): ". . . constructed on a three-pole foundation." (The Plains Cree, p. 210)

Gros Ventre - Wissler, C. (1909): three pole (Types of Dwellings, etc., p. 481)
Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 111)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): "The Assiniboin and Stoney lodge is nowadays certainly erected on a three-pole foundation." (The Assiniboin, p. 14)
Campbell, W. (1927): three poles (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Kalispel - Spier, L. (1921): three pole (field notes)

Nez Perce - Spinden, H. (1908): ". . . three (poles) were first tied near the upper end and spread to form a tripod." (The Nez Perce Indians, p. 197)
Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 111)
Campbell, W. (1927): notes three pole from photographs identified by the Bureau of American Ethnology. (Tipis of the Crows, p. 88)

Cheyenne - Campbell, W. (1915): three pole (The Cheyenne Tipi, p. 689)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Teton - Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Arikara - Lowie, R. (1922): three pole (Crow Material Culture, p. 223)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Santee - Skinner, A. (1919): "While all divisions, especially the Sisseton, used the buffalo-hide tipi with a three-pole foundation. . . ." (Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology, p. 165)

Ponca - Skinner, A. (1915): three pole (Ponca Societies and Dances, p. 779)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Arapaho - Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Pawnee - Clark, W. (1885): three pole (The Indian Sign Language, p. 373)
Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Oto - Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Kiowa - Wissler, C. (1910): three pole (citing communication from J. Mooney.) (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Wichita - Campbell, W. (1927): three pole (Tipis of the Crow, p. 88)

Jicarilla Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): three pole (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)
Opler, M. (1946): three pole (Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, p. 107)

Mescalero Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): three pole (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Lipan Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): three pole (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Only two tribes were reported as having both three and four pole foundations simultaneously.

Wind River Shoshoni - Lowie, R. (1918): predominately four pole foundation; sometimes three pole. (Shoshonean Ethnography, p. 221)

Chiricahua Apache - Opler, M. (1941): The three and four pole foundation was used, but the three pole was more common. (An Apache Life-Way, p. 386)

All available information shows that all tribes having the Plains tipi used two smoke flaps except formerly the Comanche and Kiowa who used one. The Mescalero Apache used a temporary tipi with one flap. Perhaps the Pawnee were changing from one to two flaps in historic times.

Comanche - Wissler, C. (1910): ". . . previous reference to Long and Catlin implies that one ear was formerly used by the Comanche and Kiowa." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 117)

Kiowa - same as for Comanche; also
Dorsey, G. (1903): two ears (Indians of the Southwest, p. 15)

Mescalero Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): temporary tipi with one pole ventilator. (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Pawnee - Clark, W. (1885): one smoke ear (The Indian Sign Language, p. 373)

Sarci - Wissler, C. (1910): "The Sarcee, have holes in the corners [implying two ears], like the Blackfoot." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)

Blackfoot - Wissler, C. (1910): "These (poles) are to support the large projecting 'ears' at the top." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 100)
Campbell, W. (1927): two ears (Tipis of the Crow, p. 90)

Kutenai - Ray, V. (1942): smoke wings (Culture Element Distributions, XXII, p. 178).

Plains Cree - Skinner, A. (1914): mentions smoke flaps (Notes of the Plains Cree, p. 85)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "The smoke-hole at the apex of the tipi was flanked by two projections of the cover, the tipi 'ears.'" (The Plains Cree, p. 211)

Assiniboin - Wissler, C. (1910): two ears (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)
Denig, E. (1930): ". . . with two wings, of skins at the small end to serve as vanes. . . ." (Tribes of the Upper Missouri, p. 578)

Flathead - Ray, V. (1942): smoke wings (Culture Element Distributions, XXII, p. 178)

Gros Ventre - Culin, S. (1901): two smoke ears (photograph) (A Summer Trip, p. 174)

Hidatsa - Wilson, G. (1934): two smoke flaps (The Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 418)

Mandan - Wilson, G. (1924): two smoke flaps (Hidatsa Horse and Dog Culture, p. 291)

Kalispel - Spier, L. (1921): two smoke ears (field notes)

Crow - Wissler, C. (1910): two ears (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)
Campbell, W. (1927): two ears (Tipis of the Crow, p. 90)

Cheyenne - Wissler, C. (1910): two ears (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)
Campbell, W. (1927): two ears (Tipis of the Crow, p. 90)

Teton - Wissler, C. (1910): two ears (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)
Campbell, W. (1927): two ears (Tipis of the Crow, p. 90)

Lemhi - Steward, J. (1943): two ears (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 306)

Fort Hall Shoshoni - same as for Lemhi

Bannock - same as for Lemhi

Hekandika Shoshoni - same as for Lemhi

Wind River Shoshoni - Wissler, C. (1910): two flaps (Wissler just uses word "Shoshone") (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)

Arapaho - Wissler, C. (1910): two smoke flaps (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)

Ponca - Skinner, A. (1915): two flaps (Ponca Societies and Dances, p. 779)

Omaha - Dorsey, J. (1882): two smoke flaps (Omaha Dwellings, p. 272)
Fletcher, A. and La Flesche, F. (1906): two ears (The Omaha Tribe, p. 95)
Wissler, C. (1910): two smoke ears (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 109)

Santee - Bushnell, D. (1922): two ears (pictures, Plates 21 and 22). (Villages, etc. pp. 47 and 50)

Southern Ute - Lowie, R. (1918): speaks of two poles for the ventilators. (Shoshonean Ethnography, pp. 219-220)

Jicarilla Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): two flaps (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)
Opler, M. (1946): two ears (picture) (Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, p. 107)

Chiricahua Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): flaps (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Lipan Apache - same as Chiricahua

The available data on inner lining is as follows:

Sarci - Wissler, C. (1910): "The back wall is used by . . . Sarcee . . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Blackfoot - Grinnell, G. (1892): "Inside, a lining, made of brightly painted cowskin, reached from the ground to a height of five or six feet." (Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p. 199)
Wissler, C. (1910): "Most tipis are provided with a back wall, or lining. . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 106)

Plains Cree - Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "A back wall of buffalo hide, similar to that used by the Blackfoot, lined the sides of the tipi." (The Plains Cree, p. 211)

Assiniboin - Wissler, C. (1910): lining present (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Crow - Wissler, C. (1910): lining present (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Lowie, R. (1922): "As among the Plains tribes a draft screen . . . was employed. . . ." (Crow Material Culture, p. 224)
Campbell, W. (1927): lining present (Tipis of the Crow, p. 101)

Cheyenne - Campbell, W. (1915): "Beds are made at the back and sides and protected by large canvas flies or linings. . . ." (The Cheyenne Tipi, p. 691)

Teton - Wissler, C. (1910): lining present (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)
Ewers, J. (1937): inner lining from the ground up to about three and a half feet. (Teton Dakota, p. 25)

Lipan Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): inner lining (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Chiricahua Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): no inner lining (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Information, such as it is, on the back-rest is as follows:

Sarci - Jenness, D. (1938): back-rest of willow twigs. (The Sarcee Indians, p. 13)

Blackfoot - Grinnell, G. (1892): "At the foot and head of every couch, a mat, made of straight, peeled willow

twigs, fastened side by side. . . ." (Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p. 199)
Wissler, C. (1910): "At the head of each couch is a wooden tripod supporting a back-rest made of willows strung with sinew." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 105)

Gros Ventre - Wissler, C. (1910): "They [back-rests] also seem to have been used by the Gros Ventre. . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): "Six willow sticks, about four feet in length, have their tops tied together and resting against a lodge-pole, while the diverging butt-ends are planted in the ground." (The Assiniboin, p. 15)
Wissler, C. (1910): back-rests (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Hidatsa - Wilson, G. (1934): willow back-rests in earth lodge (from drawing). (The Hidatsa Earthlodge, in back of publication)

Crow - Dunrave, Earl of (1876): "The portions of the tepee assigned to each family or couple are divided by a kind of wicker-work screen at the head and foot. . . ." (The Great Divide, p. 94 as cited by:
Bushnell, D. Villages, p. 154)
Lowie, R. (1922): "Backrests of willows strung with sinew were suspended from tripods and covered with buffalo skins." (Crow Material Culture, p. 224)

Cheyenne - Wissler, C. (1910): "The back-rest was used by the Cheyenne among whom they were usually used in pairs. . . ." (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Teton - Wissler, C. (1910): back-rest (Blackfoot Material Culture, p. 110)

Arapaho - Mooney, J. (1896): back-rest (picture) (Ghost Dance Religion, p. 963)

Lipan Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): willow-stick back-rest tripod. (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Plains Cree - Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "Back-rests of peeled willow sticks were used by men of prestige only." (The Plains Cree, p. 212)

Chiricahua Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): no willowstick back-rest. (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)

Mescalero Apache - same as for Chiricahua

The following is all of the information found concerning how the various tribes decorated their tipis:

Sarci - Jenness, D. (1938): "Of equal value with the lesser medicine-bundles and surpassed only by the beaver and medicine-pipe, were the painted tents, of which the Sarcee claimed at least a dozen." (The Sarcee Indians, p. 91)

Blackfoot - Grinnell, G. (1892): "Inside, a lining, made of brightly painted cowskin. . . ." (Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p. 198)
Grinnell, G. (1892): "It was not uncommon to decorate the outside of the lodge with buffalo tails and brightly painted pictures of animals." (Blackfoot Lodge Tales, p. 199)
Maximilian, Prince of Wied, (1906): "Painted tents, adorned with figures, are very seldom seen, and only a few chiefs possess them." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 23, p. 104)
McClintock, W. (1936): "A decorated tipi was in itself an announcement that within rested a sacred bundle whose owner possessed the ritual associated with it." (Painted Tipis, p. 123)
McClintock, W. (1936): designs came in dreams and were copyrighted by the owner (Painted Tipis, p. 123)
McClintock, W. (1936): the lower interior, lined with tanned skins, decorated with pictures and war records. (Painted Tipis, p. 87)

Plains Cree - Skinner, A. (1914): the man painted the tipi and the principal figure used was the man's dream guardian. (Notes on the Plains Cree, p. 85)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940): "While war records were sometimes painted on tipi covers, these more often bore representatives of supernatural characters. Painted tipis were subect to special regulations: fire could not be taken out of them, nor could a menstruating woman enter them." (The Plains Cree, p. 212)
Mandelbaum, D. (1940): ". . . a man had to get his wife's consent to have a picture of his spirit helper drawn on the tipi cover." (The Plains Cree, p. 211)

Assiniboin - Maximilian, Prince of Wied, (1906): "It [a chief's tent] was painted of the colour of yellow ochre, had a broad reddish-brown border below, and on each of its sides a large black bear was painted. . . to the head of which. . .a piece of red cloth, was fastened. . . ." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 23, p. 19)
Lowie, R. (1909): "A quill rosette with a tassel of human hair on the cover of the lodge. . . ." (The Assiniboin, p. 25)

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1902): formerly used circular ornaments. (The Arapaho, p. 63)

Coeur d'Alene - Teit, J. (1930): "Some of the buffalo-skin tents were ornamented with painted designs." (Salishan Tribes, p. 58)

Tenino - Spier, L. (1930): "My informants ascribed to them painted tipis. . . ." (Klamath Ethnograph, p. 3--footnote)

Crow - Catlin, G. (1841): "The Crows, of all the tribes in this region, or on the Continent, make the most beautiful lodge . . . and beautifully garnish them with porcupine quills, and paint and ornament them . . . ." (North American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 50)
Maximilian, Prince of Wied, (1906): "On the poles, instead of scalps, there were small pieces of coloured cloth, chiefly red. . . ." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 22, p. 349)
Lowie, R. (1922): "The practice of decorating tipi covers was certainly obsolescent when I visited the Crow." (Crow Indian Art, p. 317)
Campbell, W. (1927): "The decoration of the Crow tipi now consists chiefly in the application of painted designs, and even this is rare. . .(inferior) to the Sioux, Kiowa, and Arapaho (in realistic ornamentation). Usually only bands of color around the top or bottom of the tent, across the back, or around the door are seen." (Tipis of the Crow, p. 101)
Campbell, W. (1927): "The beauty of the Crow tipi lies not in superficial ornamentation, but in its impressive size (Tipis of the Crow, p. 103)

Cheyenne - Kroeber, A. (1902): use of circular ornaments (The Arapaho, p. 63)

Campbell, W. (1915): "Painted tipis are now extremely rare. Painted linings are almost as rare. These decorations consist of beaded disks and pendants. . . ." (The Cheyenne Tipi, p. 692)

Teton - Gass, P. (1807): Lodges "are made of dressed buffalo and elk skins, painted red and white. . . ." (A Journal, p. 44)
Ewers, J. (1937): ". . . horizontal banded areas of color were used near the base and top of the tipi and the central portion was reserved for representations of cult symbols or the records of the tipi owner's war deeds." (Teton Dakota, p. 53)

Hidatsa - Maximilian, Prince of Wied, (1906): ". . . handsomely ornamented with tufts of hair of various colors, and at each side of the entrance finished with a stripe and quills. . . ." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 23, p. 220)
Wilson, G. (1934): "This front part was often decorated with strips of bird-quill ornamentation." (The Hidatsa Earthlodge, p. 418)

Lemhi - Steward, J. (1943): "Did no painting." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 366)

Fort Hall Shoshoni - Steward, J. (1943): "No distinctive tribal designs." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 366)

Bannock - Steward, J. (1943): "A man painted only his own exploits over the door." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p. 366)

Hekandika Shoshoni - Steward, J. (1943): "War exploits only." (Culture Element Distributions, XXIII, p.366)

Southern Ute - Lowie, R. (1924): "The skin-covering of tipis was sometimes painted, but not with pictures." (Shoshonean Ethnography, p. 220)

Arapaho - Kroeber, A. (1907): painted covers (The Arapaho, p. 348)
Kroeber, A. (1907): ornamented with circular pieces of hide, tufts of hair and pendants. (The Arapaho, pp. 59-60)

Pawnee - Clark, W. (1885): ". . . sometimes they were variously painted." (The Indian Sign Language, p. 373)

Murie, J. (1916): "Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animals exclusively or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis." (Pawnee Indian Societies, p. 640)

Ponca - Maximilian, Prince of Wied, (1906): "Their leather tents, some of which were painted. . . ." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 24, p. 97)

Omaha - James, E. (1823): tipis "are often fancifully ornamented on the exterior, with figures, in blue and red paint, rudely executed, though sometimes depicted with no small degree of taste." (Account, Vol. 1, pp. 220-221 as cited by:
Bushnell, D., Villages, etc., p. 86)
Dorsey, J. (1892): tent of principal man of each gens decorated on either side of the entrance with badge of gens painted on. (Omaha Dwellings, p. 272)
Bradbury, J. (1906): tipis painted; "some with an undulating red or yellow band of ten or twelve inches in breadth, surrounding the lodge at half its height; on others, rude figures of horses, buffalo, or deer were painted; others again with attempts at the human face. . .these were not less than four feet in diameter." (Travels, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. 5, p. 88)

Kansa - McDermott, J. ed. (1940): ". . . several warriors had reed tents made of painted skins." (Tixier's Travels, p. 201)

Kiowa - Mooney, J. (1898): used streamers from pole tipis (Kiowa Calendar, p. 337)

Kiowa Apache - Battey, T. (1875): door painted (Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians, p. 94)

Jicarilla Apache - Gifford, E. (1940): tent painted on outside. (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)
Gifford, E. (1940): no other Apache group painted outside of cover. (Culture Element Distributions, XII, p. 22)
Thomas, A. (1935): "Nearby in a rancheria, probably Apaches, Saldivar found 'fifty tents made of tanned hide, very bright red and white in color.'" (After Coronado, p. 7 partially quoting
Bolton, H., Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706, p. 223-232.

Old Woman's Grandson Myth

Old Woman's Grandson myth is an amalgam of two complexes, Star-Husband, and Grandson as a culture hero. Throughout the northern distribution of the tale, that is mainly in Canada, there is a form of Star-Husband which was combined with further adventures of the women. This northern type is found among the following tribes:

Kaska - Teit, J. (1917):
- a) girls hid in tree
- b) called to passing animals
- c) Wolverine took them down
- d) wanted girls as a reward
- e) they kicked Wolverine into the river
- f) they returned to camp

(Kaska Tales, p. 458)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Tahltan - Teit, J. (1921)
- a) girls hid in tree
- b) called to passing animals
- c) Wolverine took them down
- d) wanted girls as a reward
- e) they returned to camp

(Tahltan Tales, pp. 247-248)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Tsetsaut - Boas, F. (1897):
- a) landed in tree
- b) called to passing animals
- c) wanted girls as a reward
- e) girls ran away
- f) Bear wanted marriage but was killed
- g) girls return and later hang themselves

(Traditions of the Tsetsaut, pp. 40-42)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Shuswap - Teit, J. (1909):
- a) they continued on their quest for a husband

(The Shuswap, p. 687)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909):
- a) Had been told not to open eyes on the way down, but had disobeyed and lodged in tree

b) rescued by Wolverine
c) wanted to marry girls
d) they escape
e) younger picks up a baby which turns into Wolverine
f) Wolverine assaults younger girl but is finally killed
g) asks boatman to ferry them across river
h) boatman is Diver who takes them to his home
i) they escape
j) he kills them
k) Diver's people discover deed and try to kill him but he escapes

(The Assiniboin, p. 171)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Ojibwa - Jones, W. (1919):
a) girls fall into nest
b) Wolverine rescues them
c) Wolverine is killed
d) girls meet Diver (from there on Diver tale)

(Ojibwa Texts, p. 151)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)
Speck, F. (1915): same ending in Timiskaming Ojibwa version
(Timiskaming Ojibwa, p. 47)

Micmac - Reichard, G. (1921): adventures of the women
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Passamaquoddy - Reichard, G. (1921): adventures of women
(Literary Types, p. 271)

The Star-Husband myth, that is the marriage of a girl or girls to celestial bodies, occurs in the following tribes without the Grandson complex:

Kaska - Teit, J. (1917): one sister married white star, the other a red star.
(Kaska Tales, p. 457)
Reichard, G., (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Tahltan - Teit, J. (1921): two girls married stars
(Tahltan Tales, p. 247)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Tsetsaut - Boas, F. (1897): one girl married white star, the other a red one
(Traditions of the Tsetsaut, p. 39)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Shuswap - Teit, J. (1909): both girls wanted to marry a star
(The Shuswap, p. 687)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): two girls married stars
(The Assiniboin, p. 171)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Ojibwa - Jones, W. (1919): two girls married two stars, one white and the other red
(Ojibwa Texts, p. 151)
Speck, F. (1915): two girls married stars, one a white star and the other red
(Timiskaming Ojibwa, p. 47)

Eastern Cree - Skinner, A. (1911): two girls married two large, bright stars
(Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, p. 113)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Kutenai - Boas, F. (1918): two girls were talking and one wanted to marry a star
(Kutenai Tales, p. 247)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Quinault - Farrand, L. (1909): two girls marry stars; the younger a bright star, the eldest a little one
(Traditions of the Quinault, p. 107)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Quileute - Farrand, L. (1920): two girls marry stars, one red and the other blue
(Quileute Tales, p. 264)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Wind River Shoshoni - St. Clair, H. (1909): two girls married stars
(Shoshone and Comanche Tales, p. 268)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Otc - Kercheval, G. (1893): two girls married stars, one star was a bright one and the other a dim one
(An Otoe and an Omaha Tale, p. 199)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Kiowa - Mooney J. (1898): girl marries celestial body. No heroic deeds by the boy, but myth becomes Lodge-Boy myth
(Calendar History of the Kiowa, pp. 238-239)

Wichita - Dorsey, G. (1904): girl wanted to marry bright star because she thought that bright stars must represent young men. But the bright star turned out to be an old man.
(The Mythology of the Wichita, p. 298)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

Caddo - Dorsey, G. (1905): girl marries star
(Traditions of the Caddo, p. 27)
Reichard, G. (1921): distribution map
(Literary Types, p. 290)

The following tribes have the complete Grandson complex, that is Star-Husband and Grandson as a culture hero.

Blackfoot - McClintock, W. (1910): the heroic deeds are a very atrofied segment to the myth
(The Old North Trail, p. 491)
Wissler, C. and Duvall, D. (1908): no heroic section
(Blackfoot Mythology, p. 61)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): complete myth even though the heroic section is very short
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 373)

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): complete myth
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, pp. 90-94, 100-101)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): complete myth
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, pp. 10-11)

Crow - Simms, S. (1903): complete myth
(Traditions of the Crows, p. 299)
Lowie, R. (1942): complete myth
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, pp. 10-11)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): complete myth
(Falling Star, p. 308)
Reichard, G. (1921): complete myth
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Teton - Beckwith, M. (1930): complete myth
(Mythology of the Oglala Dakota, pp. 408-411)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): complete myth
(Traditions of the Arikara, pp. 45-60)
Reichard, G. (1921):
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Santee - Riggs, S. (1893): complete myth
(Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography, pp. 90-94)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): complete myth
(Arapaho Traditions, pp. 321-338)
Reichard, G. (1921): complete myth
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1894): complete myth
(A Pawnee Star Myth, p. 197)
Dorsey, G. (1906): complete myth
(The Pawnee, pp. 56-58)
Reichard, G. (1921): complete myth
(Literary Types, p. 271)

The following tribes incorporate into their version of the myth the dialogue on the ground:

Kaska - Teit, J. (1917): two sisters say they want to marry stars, one a red star and the other a white
(Kaska Tales, p. 457)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Tsetsaut - Boas, F. (1897): two sisters want to marry stars, one white and the other red
(Traditions of the Tsetsaut, p. 39)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl wants to marry a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Tahltan - Teit, J. (1921): two girls wish to marry stars
(Tahltan Tales, p. 247)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl wants to marry a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Chilcotin - Farrand, L. (1909): no expression of a wish to marry stars
(Traditions of the Chilcotin, p. 28)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl wants to marry a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Shuswap - Teit, J. (1909): two young women want to marry stars
(The Shuswap, p. 687)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Blackfoot - Wissler, C. and Duvall, D. (1908): two girls talking and one wants to marry a star
(Blackfoot Mythology, p. 58)
McClintock, W. (1910): a girl tells her sister that she loves only Morning Star
(The Old North Trail, p. 491)

Kutenai - Boas, F. (1918): two girls are talking and one wants to marry a star
(Kutenai Tales, p. 247)
Reichard, G. (1921): one girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): two girls looking out the smoke hole and want to marry stars
(The Assiniboin, p. 171)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Ojibwa - Speck, F. (1915): two girls wanting to marry stars, one white and the other red
(Timagami Ojibwa, p. 47)
Jones, W. (1919): two women, one of whom is young and the other is old want to marry stars (a red star and a white one)
(Ojibwa Texts, p. 151)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Quileute - Farrand, L. (1920): two girls want to marry stars, one of which is red and the other blue
(Quileute Tales, p. 264)

Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Quinault - Farrand, L. (1909): two girls want to marry stars; the younger wants a bright star, and the older wants a little star
(Traditions of the Quinault, p. 107)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): one sister wants to marry a red star, the other a white one
(Mythology of Puget Sound, pp. 373 and 375)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): two girls want to marry stars
(Falling Star, p. 308)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Teton - Beckwith, M. (1930): two girls want to marry stars
(Mythology of the Oglala Dakota, p. 408)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): two girls talking and one wants to marry a star
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 45)
Reichard, G. (1921): one girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Santee - Riggs, S. (1893): two women want to marry stars
(Dakota Grammar, p. 90)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Wind River Shoshoni - St. Clair, H. (1909): two girls want to marry stars
(Shoshone and Comanche Tales, p. 268)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1894): one of two girls wants to marry a star (bright star)
(A Pawnee Star Myth p. 197)
Dorsey, G. (1906): two girls talking and one wants to marry a star
(The Pawnee, p. 56)

Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Otc - Kercheval, G. (1893): two chief's daughters want to marry stars
(An Otoe and an Omaha Tale, p. 199)
Reichard, G. (1921): each girl for a star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Wichita - Dorsey, G. (1904): young woman watches star, and thinks that bright stars are young men, and so wants to marry a bright star
(The Mythology of the Wichita, p. 298)
Reichard, G. (1921): one girl for star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Caddo - Dorsey, G. (1905): a girl wants to marry a star.
(Traditions of the Caddo, p. 27)
Reichard, G. (1921): one girl for star
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Some tribes have instead of the dialogue on the ground, a celestial debate as to who were earth's prettiest females. The following tribes have this development:

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): moon and sun argue as whether a woman or a frog was the best looking (in one of two versions)
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, pp. 90-100)

Crow - Simms, S. (1903): Creator sees beautiful woman and wants her
(Traditions of the Crows, p. 299)
Lowie, R. (1942): celestial debate as to best looking woman (in two of four versions)
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): celestial debate and Moon and Sun dialogue as to best looking woman (in two out of two versions)
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Arapaho - Dorsey, and Kroeber, A. (1903): celestial debate between Sun and Moon as to best looking woman (in two out of three versions)
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 321)

Kiowa - Mooney, J. (1896): celestial debate with Sun and Moon dialogue as to best looking woman
(Calendar History of the Kiowa, p. 238)

The following tribes have as an ingredient of their myth a porcupine decoy to lure the girl into the land of the sky:

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): porcupine decoy (in two out of two versions)
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 100)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Crow - Lowie, R. (1942): porcupine decoy in four out of four versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)
Simms, S. (1903): porcupine decoy
(Traditions of the Crow, p. 300)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): porcupine decoy in two out of two versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): porcupine decoy
(Falling Star, p. 308)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): porcupine decoy in one out of two versions
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 45)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): porcupine decoy in three out of three versions
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 321, p. 330.)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Kiowa - Mooney, J. (1896): porcupine decoy
(Calendar History of the Kiowa, p. 238)
Reichard, G. (1921): lure of porcupine
(Literary Types, p. 271)

There is considerable variation in the nature of the tabus which were imposed on the girl, girls or the girl and her son. The most widespread tabu was against digging turnips which was found among the:

Blackfoot - Wissler, C. and Duvall, D. (1908): tabu against digging turnip
(Blackfoot Mythology, p. 59)
McClintock, W. (1910): tabu against digging large turnip growing near the home of Spider Man
(The Old North Trail, p. 494)

Crow - Lowie, R. (1942): tabu against digging turnips (in four out of four versions)
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): tabu against digging turnips in two out of two versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Teton - Beckwith, M. (1930): tabu against digging male turnips
(Mythology of the Oglala Dakota, p. 409)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): tabu against digging turnips in valleys (two versions)
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 45, p. 56)

Oto - Kercheval, G. (1893): tabu against striking ground twice when digging turnips
(An Otoe and an Omaha Tale, p. 199)

Digging pommes blanche was tabued among the:

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): tabu against digging pommes blanche with green tops
(Falling Star, p. 309)

Santee - Riggs, S. (1893): tabu against digging pommes blanche
(Dakota Grammar, p. 90)

Kiowa - Mooney, J. (1896): prohibition against going near pommes blanche whose top had been bitten off by a buffalo
(Calendar History, p. 238)

The tabu against digging near certain trees was found in two tribes, the:

Kutenai - Boas, F. (1918): tabu against digging where there is a tree
(Kutenai Tales, p. 249)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): tabu against digging near certain trees
(The Assiniboin, p. 171)

Digging too deep for roots is tabued by three tribes widely separated in space:

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): tabu against digging fern roots too deeply (First Version)
(Second Version - no tabu)
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 373)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): tabu against digging too deep for potatoes
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 323)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1894): tabu against digging too deep for roots
(A Pawnee Star Myth, p. 197)
Dorsey, G. (1906): tabu against digging too deep
(The Pawnee, pp. 56-57)

Hidatsa and Crow are alike in two tabus, lifting buffalo manure and shooting meadowlarks.

Hidatsa - Lowie R. (1942): tabu against lifting buffalo manure and shooting meadowlarks
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Crow - same as for Hidatsa above

Gros Ventre and Wind River Shoshoni have two similar tabus:

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): tabu against digging the roots of blue flowers
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 100)

Wind River Shoshoni - St. Clair, H. (1909): tabu against digging big roots
(Shoshone and Comanche Tales, p. 268)

There are a few other tabus:

Arapaho - Dorsey, and Kroeber, A. (1903): tabu against looking down holes
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 323)

Chilcotin - Farrand, L. (1909): tabu against opening certain box - tabu against touching certain basket
(Traditions of the Chilcotin, pp. 28-29)

Ojibwa - Jones, W. (1919): tabu against looking on the way down to earth
(Ojibwa Texts, p. 153)
Speck, F. (1915): no tabu
(Timagami Ojibwa, p.151)

Wichita - Dorsey, G. (1904): tabu against moving large rock
(Mythology of the Wichita, p. 298)

The available information concerning the speech to the rock is as follows:

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): speech to rock in one of two versions
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 92)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): speech to rock in two out of two versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Crow - Lowie, R. (1942): speech to rock in four out of four versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): speech to rock in three cases out of three
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 324)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): speech to rock in two versions out of two
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 47, pp. 56-57)

In the preparation for the trip back to earth, the girls or girl either make their preparation alone or are helped. In the case of the girl making ready by herself, the following is the available data:

Kaska - Teit, J. (1917): prepared for the journey by themselves
(Kaska Tales, p. 457)

Tahltan - Teit, J. (1921): secretly prepared rope
(Tahltan Tales, p. 247)

Kutenai - Boas, F. (1918): girl made rope herself
(Kutenai Tales, p. 249)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): girl made rope. (This is true in one of two cases.)
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 373)

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): girl made rope
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 92, p. 101)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): girl makes rope unaided
(Falling Star, p. 309)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): girls make rope unaided
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 324)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1884): girl makes rope unaided
(A Pawnee Star Myth, p. 197)
Dorsey, G. (1906): girl makes rope unaided
(The Pawnee, p. 57)

Kiowa - Mooney, J. (1886): girl makes rope unaided
(Calendar History, p. 238)

Wichita - Dorsey, G. (1904): girl makes rope unaided
(The Mythology of the Wichita, p. 298)

Among the following tribes, the girl or girls are aided by an old woman:

Chilcotin - Farrand, L. (1909): old woman assisted in the manufacture of the rope
(Traditions of the Chilcotin, p. 29)

Ojibwa - Speck, F. (1915): old woman helped them to leave
(Timagami Ojibwa, p. 152)
Jones, W. (1919): old woman makes the rope
(Ojibwa Texts, p. 153)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): in a second version, grandmother helped them
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 375)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): old woman helps her by making rope. Old woman's name is Spider Woman.
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 46, p. 56)

In the case of the Arikara, the girl is helped by Spider Woman. The following tribes specify Spider as the helper:

Blackfoot - McClintock, W. (1910): helped by Spider Man
(The Old North Trail, p. 496)

Assiniboin - Lowie, R. (1909): Spider lowers them by rope
(The Assiniboin, p. 171)

Crow - Lowie, R. (1942): Spider helps make rope in two out of four versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): Spider helps make the rope in one out of two versions
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Among the following tribes, the wife or wives are aided by the husband (knowingly aided), or at least not hindered:

Blackfoot - Wissler, C. and Duvall, D. (1908): Morning Star says that he can not keep her any more and allows her to return to earth.
(Blackfoot Mythology, p. 58)
McClintock, W. (1910): her husband leads her to the home of Spider Man and places on her head the sacred bonnet worn only by pure women.
(The Old North Trail, pp. 495-496)

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): husband sends woman home
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 101)

Crow - Simms, S. (1903): husband decides to send woman and boy back to earth
(Traditions of the Crows, p. 300)

Wind River Shoshoni - St. Clair, H. (1909): husband consented to let her return
Shoshone and Comanche Tales, p. 268)

Caddo - Dorsey, G. (1905): Star agreed to let girl return to her people in six days
(Traditions of the Caddo, p. 27)

The Seneca version says that the girl is helped by still other means:

Seneca - Thompson, S. (1929): young man came along and said that it was not right to dig up tree and gave the girl a shove with his foot into the hole.
(Tales of the North American Indians, p. 14)

The compositions of the rope shows much variation, and the following is the available pertinent data:

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907): sinew rope
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, p. 92, p. 101)

Crow - Lowie, R. (1942): sinew rope in four versions out of four
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)
Simms, S. (1903): sinew rope
(Traditions of the Crows, p. 299)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942): sinew rope in two versions out of two
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, p. 10)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904): sinew rope
(Traditions of the Arikara, p. 46, p. 56)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903): sinew rope
(Arapaho Traditions, p. 324)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1894): sinew rope
(A Pawnee Star Myth, p. 197)
Dorsey, G. (1906): sinew rope
(The Pawnee, p. 57)

Tsetsaut - Boas, F. (1897): rope of skins
(Traditions of the Tsetsaut, p. 40)

Tahltan - Teit, J. (1921): rope of skins
(Tahltan Tales, p. 247)

Wind River Shoshoni - St. Clair, H. (1909): rope of strips of buffalo hide
(Shoshone and Comanche Tales, p. 268)

Blackfoot - Wissler, C. and Duvall, D. (1908); spider web rope
(Blackfoot Mythology, p. 59)

Caddo - Dorsey, G. (1905): rope of young elm bark in one version, and rope of soapweed in another version
(Traditions of the Caddo, p. 27, p. 29)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921): grass rope
(Falling Star, p. 309)

Chilcotin - Farrand, L. (1909): rope made of vines
(Traditions of the Chilcotin, p. 29)

Ojibwa - Speck, F. (1915): rope of roots
(Timagami Ojibwa, p. 152)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924): made ladder of cedar twigs
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 373)

Oto - Kercheval, G. (1893): the good chief in the sky took the ropes supplied by the girl's people and let them down.
(An Otoe and an Omaha Tale, p. 200)

Wichita - Dorsey, G. (1904): she braided soapweed into a rope.
(The Mythology of the Wichita, p. 298)

The greatest variation occur in Grandson's heroic deeds. The following is the available information concerning these exploits:

Chipewyan - Goddard, P. (1912):
a) killed caribou
b) every one else froze
(Chipewyan Texts, p. 51)

Blackfoot - McClintock, W. (1910):
a) goes to home of sun god
b) killed seven enormous birds
c) returned to camp and instructed people in the Sun-Dance
(The Old North Trail, pp. 497-499)

Snuqualmi - Haeberlin, H. (1924):
a) made rivers, rocks, animals, etc.
b) slew monsters
c) made fire
d) finally changed himself into moon
(Mythology of Puget Sound, p. 374)

Gros Ventre - Kroeber, A. (1907):
a) kills girl who turned into snake (in one out of two versions)
b) wrestles with old woman who stole from Grandmother's fields (in one out of two versions)
c) as he arose from the dead, so did his mother (in one out of two versions)
(Gros Ventre Myths and Tales, pp. 93-94)
Reichard, G. (1921): no heroic deeds mentioned
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Hidatsa - Lowie, R. (1942):
a) kills Grandmother's dragon husband (in two out of two versions)
b) tames or kills bear (in two out of two versions)
c) kills snakes which crawl into people (in two out of two versions)
d) assists several abused villages (in one out of two versions
e) he becomes (morning) star (in two out of two versions)
(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, pp. 10-11)
Reichard, G. (1921):
a) murder of secret husband
b) subjection of animals
c) rectum snakes episode
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Crow - Reichard, G. (1921):
a) murder of secret husband
b) subjection of animals
c) Jug-Tilter
d) Fire-Moccasins
e) rectum snakes
f) Long-knife

g) killing-Tree
h) Spreading Coulee
i) Sucking-Monster

(Literary Types, p. 271)

Simms, S. (1905):
a) killed all animals
b) rectum snakes

(Traditions of the Crows, pp. 300-301)

Lowie, R. (1942):
a) kills Grandmother's dragon husband (in four out of four versions)
b) tames or kills bear (in three out of four versions)
c) rectum snakes (in four out of four version)
d) overcomes Toppling Tree (three out of four versions)
e) Clashing Coulee (three out of four versions)
f) Sucking Monster (two out of four versions)
g) Vessel Tilter (three out of four versions)
h) Fire-moccasins (two out of four versions)
i) Knife ogre (one out of four versions)
j) Long-arms (one out of four versions)
k) Dangerous Beaver (one out of four versions)
l) he becomes (morning) star

(Studies in Plains Indian Folklore, pp. 10-11)

Cheyenne - Grinnell, G. (1921):
a) kills water monster
b) kills owl
c) kills white crow
d) kills Winter-Man
e) tells people how to kill Double-Eyes
f) kills old woman who scalped people

(Falling Star, pp. 310-315)

Reichard, G. (1921):
a) water monster (Reichard considered this equivalent to Sucking-Monster)

(Literary Types, p. 271)

Teton - Beckwith, M. (1930):
a) kills bear
b) calls on father to send wind and blow away Iktomi and free Shooting Star

(Mythology of the Oglala Dakota, pp. 410-411)

Arikara - Dorsey, G. (1904):
a) kills Old Woman's husband (two out of two versions)
b) tames bear (two out of two versions)

c) rectum snakes (two out of two versions)
(Traditions of the Arikara, pp. 48-54, pp. 57-60)
Reichard, G. (1921):
a) murder of secret husband
b) subjection of animals
c) rectum snakes
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Santee - Riggs, S. (1893):
a) killed water monster
b) killed owl which kept people from getting wood
c) broke the Ice Bow
d) caused Waziya to become paralyzed
e) melted the snow by fanning and causing the south wind to blow
(Dakota Grammar, pp. 91-94)

Arapaho - Dorsey, G. and Kroeber, A. (1903):
a) kills Grandmother's husband (one out of three versions
b) rectum snakes (one out of three versions)
(Arapaho Traditions, pp. 335-338)
Reichard, G. (1921):
a) murder of secret husband
b) rectum snakes
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Pawnee - Grinnell, G. (1894):
a) captures bear
b) killed panther
c) rectum snakes
(A Pawnee Star Myth, pp. 199-200)
Dorsey, G. (1906):
a) kills bear
b) kills monster
c) kills mountain lions
d) kills all wicked animals
(The Pawnee, p. 58)
Reichard, G. (1921):
a) subjection of animals
b) rectum snakes
(Literary Types, p. 271)

Shoshoni - Lowie, R. (1924):
a) learns how relatives were killed
b) kills badger
c) kills Quitus
d) kills a man
e) kills bear

f) kills Moipots
g) kills Nonvnab
h) kills people who killed his relatives
(Shoshonean Tales, pp. 186-188)

B. T.

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